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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

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EDITED BY

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AN EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY EPITAPH FROM DELHI

BY DR. Z. A. DESĀI

In May 1973, while on a short visit to Delhi, Dr. Y. D. Sharmā, ex-Deputy Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, and author of *Delhi and its Neighbourhood*, wanted me to inspect an Arabic record which was discovered one of those days, in Mehrauli. On examination, it was found to be the epitaph of one who later on turned out to be a celebrated nobleman and a trusted lieutenant of the Mamlūk Sulṭān S̲h̲amsu'd-Dīn Iltutmis̲h̲ (1210-1236). The same is being published here from the impressions subsequently prepared by the office of the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nāgpur.

The grave bearing the inscription is situated on the outskirts of the Mehrauli village, a suburb of Greater Delhi, in the area full of monumental remains and ruins, to the south-south-west of the world-famous Quṭb-Minār. It lies immediately to the right of the Mehrauli by-pass to Gurgāon, on the east-west stretch thereof, before it again takes a south-west turn to meet the old Delhi-Mehrauli-Gurgāon road passing through the village.[1] The grave comprising a casket-shaped sarcophagus of red sandstone lies on the open ground; there is no trace of any platform or plinth, nor does there appear to have been originally any building erected over it. A few graves can still be seen nearby.

This interesting inscription, the second earliest epitaph to be found so far in Delhi and also one of the not many early epigraphs of this seat of political power over the centuries, had escaped the notice of scholars and officers of the Survey till Dr. Sharmā was informed about it by one of the officers of the then North-Western Circle of the Survey. In the official list of Muhammadan and Hindu monuments of the Delhi Province prepared in the main in the second decade of the present century by Maulavī Ẓafar Ḥasan, then Assistant Superintendent who was specially deputed for the purpose, no mention of the epigraph studied here is made. It is indeed gratifying to note that this early record has survived.

The epitaph is very brief. Its short four-line text is engraved in relief on the arch-shaped headside of the sarcophagus. The style of writing is bold *T̲h̲ulth̲* of more or less the same variety as found in contemporary records. Typical of it are vertical strokes with a pronounced taper, increasing in size as they go up and ending in a forty-five degree slant. The calligraphy, though not as exquisite as in the short epigraph on the foot-side of the same grave containing only *Yā-Allāh*, is fairly good,[2] but its overall effect is marred by the not-so-neat execution of the text. The letters, some of which are written one above the other, have been jumbled to-

[1] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1973-74, No. D, 4.

[2] This inscription was inadvertently left out from reporting in *ARIE*, 1973-74; it is being listed in the Report for 1980-81.

gether. Moreover, the writing suffers from orthographical mistakes, at least in two places as will be seen from the text cited below and its illustration.

The text merely purports to register the date of the death of 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār. He had died on Monday, 19th of Jumādā II 616 (Ist September 1219).

The text occupies a writing space of 45 cm. from apex to bottom and 45 cm. in width and has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate I (a)

(١) وفات سپهسا [لار] مرحوم

(٢) مغفور عز الدين بختيار روز د[و] شنبه

(٣) نوزدهم ماه جماد ¹احاخر (كذا) بود سنه ست عشر و ستمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) The demise of the Sipahsālār (lit. Chief of the Army) taken into the mercy of Allāh,

(2) 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār the pardoned, was[2] (on) Monday

(3) the nineteenth of the month of Jumādā the Second, of the year (A.H.) sixteen and six hundred (19 Jumādā II 616=1 September 1219).[3]

The record thus purports that Sipahsālār 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār left this world in A.H. 616 (1219 A.D.). This would make it the second earliest epitaph, beyond any doubt,[4] and one of the few early thirteenth century records that have been so far reported from Delhi.[5]

Apart from this, the record under study is the only epitaph of an official or a nobleman of the Mamlūk period that seems to have survived. As is well-known, no epitaph of the Mamlūk rulers or their noblemen has been known.[6] The one under study is the only record of its kind, commemorating the death of a noble of first rank under S͟hamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmis͟h (1210-1235). Since the grave is *in situ,* the record may be taken to provide an authentic landmark of the area of the metropolitan city as it existed under the Mamlūks.

The deceased, Sipahsālār 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār, is known from historical works which unfortunately, however, do not yield much information about him. He was a celebrated

[1] The " احا " here appears to be the engraver's error for " الا ".

[2] The word " بود " meaning 'was' occurs in the next line in the text.

[3] According to S. K. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeries*, vol. IV (Madras, 1922), Ist September 1219 was Sunday, while 19th Jumādā II 616 is stated here to be Monday. The difference may be due to the *Ru'yat* or *Ḥisābī* calculation.

[4] The earliest epitaph known so far from Delhi is that of As'ad son of Ḥusain, who had died in A.H. 611/1214-15 A.D. (*ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 22).

[5] So far only five records that bear earlier dates have been reported from Delhi. Three of these are from the Quwwatu'l-Islām mosque and the Quṭb-Minār and one is believed to have come from Okhlā or Mehrauli. The exact nature of the last-mentioned, now preserved in the Red Fort Museum, Delhi—whether it was set up on a mosque or a tomb—has not yet been determined, nor is there any definite information available about its exact place of find.

[6] The National Museum, New Delhi, a few years back, acquired tablets bearing the epitaphs of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Kaiqubād, dated A. H. 688 (1289 A.D.), 'Alāu'd-Dīn K͟haljī, dated A.H. 716 (1316-17 A.D.) and Maqbūl K͟hān-i-Jahān, Prime Minister of Fīrūz S͟hāh Tug͟hluq, dated A.H. 776 (1375-76), but these are spurious records. See *ARIE*, 1972-73, Nos. D, 13 (where the reading of the year A.H. 668 is an inadvertent error for A.H. 688), 22, 26 and Introduction.

INSCRIPTION FROM DELHI

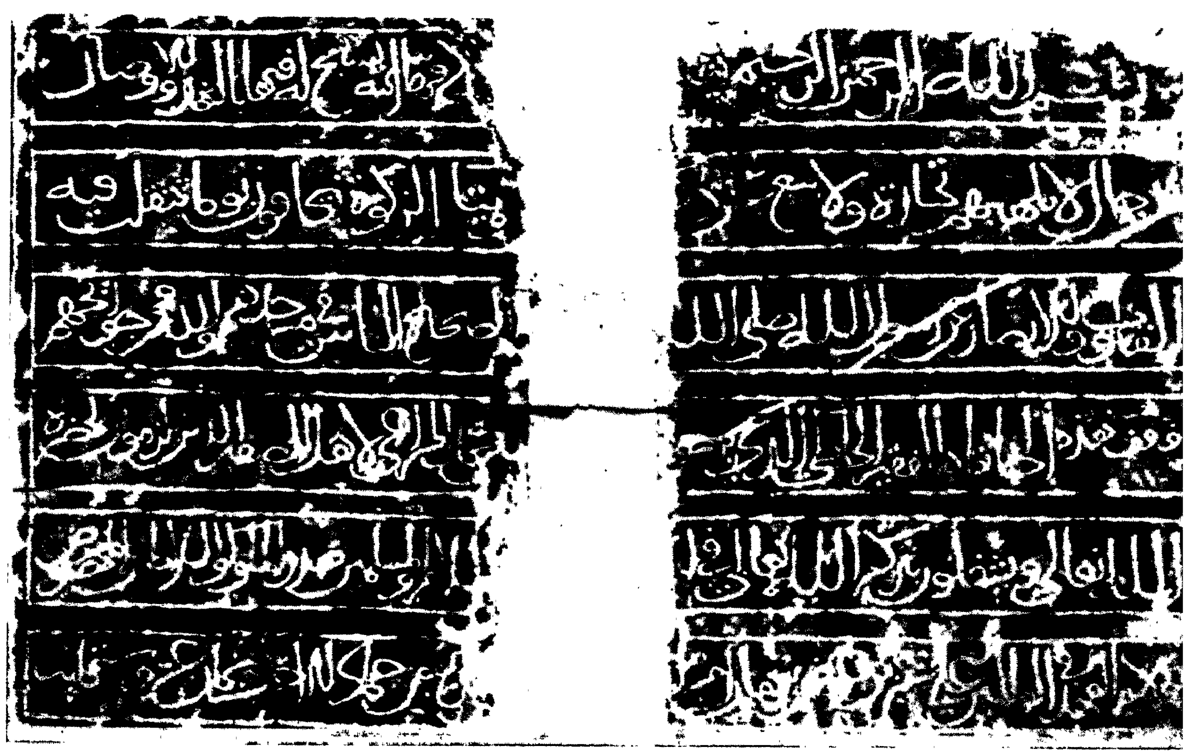
(a) Epitaph of 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bakhtyār, dated A.H. 616 (p. 2)



SCALE: .2

INSCRIPTION FROM WEST BENGAL

(b) Unique inscription of 'Alī Shīr, dated A.H. 618 (p. 7)



SCALE: .18

nobleman and a trusted and loyal lieutenant of Iltutmis͟h. Minhāj-i-Sirāj lists him among the nobles of that monarch,[1] but does not give any details about his career. In one of the manuscripts of Minhāj's work, he is called Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār G͟horī,[2] while according to all but one copy of that work consulted by Major H. G. Raverty, its English translator, the Malik's name was 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār, the K͟halj. The remaining one copy calls him G͟horī.[3] Our inscription merely calls him 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār, without his clan-name K͟halj or the *nisba* G͟horī indicating his connection, by origin or domicile, with the region of G͟hor in central Afghānistān. It is very likely that 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār belonged to the Khaljī tribe of G͟hor and was known as K͟halj and G͟horī, as mentioned in some copies of Minhāj's work.

Minhāj, as stated above, does not give any information beyond listing him among the nobles of high rank of Iltutmis͟h. However, the earlier contemporary Ḥasan Niẓāmī does provide welcome bits of information regarding him. We are informed that he was one of the 'chiefs of the Time and Champions of the Age' like Naṣīru'd-Dīn Mardān S͟hāh, Hizibru'd-Dīn Aḥmad and Iftik͟hāru'd-Dīn Muḥammad who had headed a large army against Sarjāndār Tatar who had risen in open rebellion in A.H. 607 (1211 A.D.) when Iltutmis͟h ascended the throne after the death of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibek.[4]

'Izzu'd-Dīn Bakhtyār also figures in the Sulṭān's expedition to and reduction of Jālor in south-west Rājasthān, some time after the rebellion just referred to or in other words, not long after his accession. The former was among such 'Chiefs of the Time, Champions of the Age, Pillars of the kingdom and the Grandees of the Time' as Ruknu'd-Dīn Ḥamza, Naṣīru'd-Dīn Mardān S͟hāh, Naṣīru'd-Dīn 'Alī and Badru'd-Dīn Sunqurtigīn, who were in the army that reduced Jālor.[5] This would provide a definite date, A.H. 607 (1210-11 A.D.) or A.H. 608 (1211-12 A.D.), in the career of 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār. Dr. A.B.M. Ḥabību'llāh is inclined to ascribe the reduction of Jālor recorded by Ḥasan Niẓāmī to 1226-27 A.D. when Ranthambhore and Manḍor both in Rājputānā were conquered, despite the fact that Ḥasan Niẓāmī places it, as pointed out by Dr. Ḥabību'llāh himself, immediately after the accession of Iltutmis͟h (which took place in A.H. 607).[6] That the event could not have taken place as late as

[1] Minhāj-i-Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Calcutta, 1864), p. 177; *Ibid.*, vol. I (Kābul, 1342 S͟hamsī), p. 450; *ibid.* (Lāhore, 1952), p. 88; S. A. A. Rizvī, *Ādi Turk-Kālīn Bhārat* (Aligarh, 1956), p. 29.

[2] Minhāj, *op. cit.* (Calcutta), p. 178, f.n.

[3] Major H. G. Raverty, Eng. tr. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Calcutta, 1881, Delhi, Reprint 1970), p. 626 and f.n. 3.

Major Raverty severely but unjustly criticises the author by saying, 'this is a specimen of the dependence we can place on our author's names and statements' for 'If he refers to the conqueror of Bihar and Lakhnawati, he was *dead five years before* I-yal-timish was raised to the throne' (*ibid.*, f.n. 3). Raverty's criticism is wholly misconceived as Minhāj, who has separately given a detailed account of the conqueror of Bihār in his notices of the Mu'izzī noblemen and calls him Ik͟htiyāru'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of Bak͟htyār (*ibid.*, pp. 548-73) refers to another nobleman altogether, this time of Iltutmis͟h, in 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār. Also, there does not seem to be any real contradiction between his being called K͟halj in all but one copies and G͟horī in one; 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār, like the conqueror of Bihār, may have belonged to the K͟haljī tribe of G͟hor and was hence so called.

[4] Ḥasan Niẓāmī, *Tāju'l-Ma'āt͟hir* (Ms., Sālār Jang Museum, Hyderābād, dated A.H. 752, Tārīk͟h-59), ff. 204, 209; H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. II (London, 1869), p. 323; Rizvī, *op. cit.*, p. 275. Minhāj, *op. cit.*, p. 170, mentions the rebellion but does not give any names. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, calls the rebel-chief 'Sarjāndār Turkī' but the Hyderābād manuscript has at both the places 'Sarjāndār Tatar'. Dr. A. B. M. Ḥabību'llāh, who has utilised *Tāju'l-Ma'āt͟hir,* makes a passing mention to the incident and refers to it as the rebellion of the 'Turkish guards (*Jāndārs*) of Delhi' which is somewhat misleading (*Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Allāhābād, 1961, p. 92).

[5] Ḥasan Niẓāmī, *op. cit.*, f. 216 (details of the entire expedition, ff. 214-22); Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-36; Rizvī, *op. cit.*, p. 275. Ḥasan Niẓāmī is the only one among the known authorities to record the Jālor expedition; Minhāj, *op. cit.*, p. 179, merely lists Jālor among Iltutmis͟h's conquests.

[6] Ḥabību'llāh, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.

in 1226-27 A.D. or A.H. 623-24 but much earlier is also indicated by the inscription under study. 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bakhtyār who, according to it, died in A.H. 616 (1219 A.D.), could not have participated in the Jālor expedition in A.H. 623-24 and since according to Ḥasan Niẓāmī, he had also, along with others, taken part in it, the expedition must have taken place before his death in A.H. 616 (1219 A.D.). Therefore, Ḥasan Niẓāmī's date of Jālor expedition must be taken as correct. Dr. Ḥabību'llāh was perhaps led to ascribe a later date for the same, only because of the likelihood of Iltutmish's having decided to reduce different forts in Rājasthān—Ranthambhore, Manḍor and Jālor—at one time. But this could not be necessaily so. Thus the epigraph under study indirectly corroborates Ḥasan Niẓāmī's statement about the time of Jālor's reduction and dispels the doubt cast by Dr. Ḥabībū'llāh in this regard.

It will have been noted that 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bakhtyār has been called in the epigraph 'Sipahsālār'. It is true, the title is not very clearly written in the epigraph and only 'Sipahsā' of the word can be read with certainty. But there should be little doubt that the title intended for the deceased in the text is Sipahsālār. The writing being slightly damaged, due to flaking off of certain portions, the remaining letters *lār* of the word are not visible on the stone. Or as stated above, these may have been inadvertently left out by the engraver.

The use of this title for 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bakhtyār shows the high status he enjoyed in life. The exact connotation of Sipahsālār in terms of military rank is difficult to determine for want of specific information in this regard. At a later date, towards the end of the thirteenth century or so, the military rank was graded in descending order into Khān, Malik, Amīr, Sipahsālār and Sarkhail.[1] But the fact that nobles of first rank, governors and generals like Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibek, Badru'd-Dīn Sunqurtigīn and the like are invested with this title in their inscriptions clearly shows that a Sipahsālār was not graded so low in the military rank in the early Mamlūk period. Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibek, the deputy in India of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām, is found to have retained this title of his pre-kingship period even after his elevation to the throne.[2] This shows that the title Sipahsālār was at least during this period applied to the commander of the army or a general.

In other words, 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bakhtyār was a nobleman of high status and held the rank of Sipahsālār, that is, a general. This fully well agrees with the position accorded to him by the contemporary historian Ḥasan Niẓāmī among 'the chiefs of the Time, Champions of the Age, Pillars of the Kingdom and the Grandees of the Time', as seen above.

Apart from this, I have been able to trace an interesting reference to Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bakhtyār in an unexpected source, which indirectly credits him with the construction of a Hot-Bath and a mosque in front of it in the metropolitan city. It is related in the famous *malfūẓ* of Ḥaḍrat Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā of Delhi, *Fawā'idu'l Fu'ād,* compiled by Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī that the celebrated saint Shaikh Quṭbu'd-Dīn Bakhtyār Ūshī (who lies buried in Mehrauli, not very far from the findspot of the epigraph under study) and Shaikh Jalālu'd-Dīn Tabrīzī had once met 'in the mosque of Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bakhtyār, which is situated in front of his Hot-Bath (*garmāba*)'. From this, it would appear that the mosque and the Hot-Bath which must have been constructed before A.H. 616 (1219 A.D.) existed on 27 Dhū'l-Qa'da 715 (22 February 1316), the day on which Ḥaḍrat Niẓāmu'd-Dīn related to his audience the meeting of the above-mentioned two saintly persons.[3]

[1] For details, see Ḥabību'llāh, *op. cit.*, pp. 268, 298-99, 342.

[2] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica,* 1911-12, pp. 2, 13, 16; *ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 30 (dated A.H. 683/1284 A.D. in which the builder is mentioned as the Amīr, the Isfahsālār, etc.), 35 (fragmentary, in which the builder Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Mīr-i-Mīrān Sālārī is mentioned as the 'Amīr, the Isfahsālār, the Great, the Mighty').

[3] Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'idu'l-Fu'ād,* ed. Muḥammad Laṭīf Malik (Lāhore, 1966), p. 256.

The exact place where this mosque and the Hot-Bath stood is not known. That these two buildings were situated in Mehrauli, which was part of the then metropolitan city of Delhi, goes without saying. It is a reasonable guess that they were situated somewhere in the immediate vicinity of the inscribed grave of Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn Bak͟htyār. It is even likely that the Malik was buried in the courtyard or compound of his own mosque, as was vogue in those days. In any case, no trace of any of the building of that period exists in the immediate neighbourhood.

To conclude, the epitaph under study is quite important. Apart from furnishing the date of death of a noble of first rank under Iltutmis͟h who finds mention only by name in two early events of Iltutmis͟h's reign, it pinpoints his last resting place. It also in a way testifies to the truthfulness of the relevant account of Ḥasan Niẓāmī, the first historian of the Muslim rule in India and also corroborates the date given by him of Iltutmis͟h's conquest of Jālor.

AN EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY INSCRIPTION FROM WEST BENGAL

BY DR. Z. A. DESĀI

The impression of the inscription published here for the first time was received from the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Calcutta, in January 1973. On examination it was found to be an extremely important record, as it was duly pointed out in the epigraphical report of the Archaeological Survey.[1]

The inscription happens to be the earliest Muslim record that has come so far to our notice in eastern India. The tablet on which it is engraved has undergone some damage. The circumstances under which this happened are not known but as a result of the damage, the slab was broken into two pieces, one of them also developing a crack diagonally from the right side top towards left, and both pieces loosing some portions on one edge each. From the way the side-portions are missing —the left in one case and the right in the other, leaving almost vertical edges in both cases—it would appear that the tablet might have been cut into two equal parts to be utilised for building or like purpose.

These two inscribed pieces are now reported to lie in the Tomb of a local saint called Makhdūm Shāh at Siān (Siwān of the Survey Sheet),[2] situated in Police Station Bolpur of the Sadar (Suri) Sub-division of Birbhum District in West Bengal.[3] Due to the damage to the epigraphical tablet referred to above, portion of the text in the centre is lost.

The epigraph comprises a six-line text in Arabic inscribed in horizontal panels of double-lined border in fairly good calligraphy which is a mixture of *Naskh* and *Riqā'* scripts. It will be noted that the writing is not in relief as the inscriptions in Arabic script of India including its eastern part generally are, but is incised or cut into the stone in the manner of Indian epigraphs, a feature noted among some earliest inscriptions of India from other parts of the country like Gujarāt also.[4] Again, while the calligraphy of the record does portray *Naskh* with some artistic flourishes, it cannot be said to contain any of the features that later on became the watermark of the highly decorative and pleasing typical calligraphical styles of inscriptions from the eastern part of the Indian sub-continent. But the style of writing on the whole even in its present fragmentary and damaged state is of a fairly good quality.

The epigraphical tablet originally belonged to a Hindu edifice. Its reverse is entirely inscribed by a Sanskrit *Praśasti* in verse of a subordinate of the Pāla king of Bengal, Nayapāla (*c.* 1035-50 A.D.), speaking of the defeat of the Ćedi forces very probably at the Pāla ruler's hands. According to Dr. D. C. Sircār who published the Pāla record, the inscription which is not an official record of the Pāla monarch further suggests that the ruler of the Suhma or Rāḍha country comprising the Burdwān region and its neighbourhood (parts of Birbhum district), who must have been a subordinate of Nayapāla, fought against the Ćedi forces. This inscription also records the religious activities, including the construction of a large number

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[1] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1972-73, No. 1, p. 20. Also, *Indian Archaeology*. 1972-73—*A Review* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 52.

[2] Quarter-Inch Map, 73 M, 23° 40′ Lat. 87° 45′ Long.

[3] *ARIE*, 1972-73, No. D, 1.

[4] *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1961, p. 6.

of temples at Siān and elsewhere, of the subordinate of Nayapāla who was, unlike his overlord, a devotee of Brahmanical gods and throws welcome light on the religious life of the local people.[1]

It is difficult to say when and how the original tablet found its way to the present Dargāh. Firstly, it must have originally belonged to a temple but where was it situated, it is difficult to say. Also, it is not possible to say if the temple was intact when the tablet was removed or was in ruins. It was obviously utilised for the inscription under study, which as we shall presently see, was set up to commemorate the construction of a K͟hānqāh (i.e. a saintly Hospice). Thus the tablet has nothing to do with the present Dargāh about the antiquity of which or the period of the saint Mak͟hdūm S͟hāh, nothing definite is known, though the possibility of its having stood in the vicinity, if not in the enclosure of what later on became the site of the K͟hānqāh, cannot be ruled out.

A casual observer would be led to think as Dr. Sircār did, that 'the people responsible for the construction of the Dargāh in which the slabs have been found, cut the inscribed stone into two halves, in order to write two Arabic inscriptions on their reverse', but the two Arabic inscriptions form integral and running part of the same record, and therefore, there is absolutely no doubt that the tablet was intact when the Arabic inscription was engraved. In short, the slab broke at a later date and may have been later cut into two parts, in which process, about three to four words in each line of the Arabic text were lost.[2]

The first three of the six-line text contain a Quranic verse appropriate to the object of the record itself preceded by *Basmala* and followed by a short Saying of the Prophet of Islām. In the next three lines, mention is made of the endowment of 'this K͟hānqāh' for the 'men of the Bench' (*ahli'ṣ-Ṣuffa*) i.e. ṣūfīs who all the while remain in the presence of the Exalted Allāh and engage themselves in Recitation of His Names and Praise (*D͟hikr*) in the time (of the helper of) Islām and the Muslims, the chief (*Ṣadr*) among the kings and Sulṭāns, one favoured with the lordship of the time, namely 'Alī S͟hīr son of 'Iwaḍ, Proof of the Commander of the Faithful (*Burhānu-Amīri'l-Mu'minīn*), on the 7th (?) Jumādā II 618 (29th July 1221). The name of the person who made the endowment and who must have been its builder also, is cut off, but his father's name Muḥammad al-Marāg͟hī is preserved in the extant text.

The two inscribed pieces in their present state measure 36 by 53 cm. and 38 by 53 cm. and taking into consideration the loss of about 10 to 12 cm. of the slab, the text must have originally occupied a writing space of 85 by 53 cm.

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate I (b)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [فی بیوت اذن الله ان ترفع ویذ]کر فیها اسمه لیسبح له فیها بالغد و والاصال

(٢) رجال لا تلهیهم تجارة ولا بیع عن ذکر [الله و اقام الصلوة] و [ای]تا' الزکوة یخافون یوما تتقلب فیه

(٣) القلوب و الابصار عن رسول الله صلی الله [علیه وسلم فی] الصحیح الناس فی مساجدهم والله فی حوایجهم

[1] For details and line-to-line contents of the inscription, see Dr. D. C. Sircār, 'New Light on the Reign of Nayapāla (*c.* 1035-50 A.D.)', *Bāngladesh Itihās Parishad Proceedings, Third History Congress, Dacca, 1973* (Dacca, 1975), pp. 36-43.

[2] From the way each slab was neatly built up into a niche in the Dargāh when first spotted, it would appear that original two pieces were recut to fit into the exact size of the niches.

(۴) وقف هذه الخانقاه الفقير الخاطی الذی یرجو [الی رحمة ربه (؟)...........[ب]ن محمد المراغی لاهل الصفة الذین یلزمون لحضرة

(٥) الله تعالے ویشغلون بذکر الله تعالے فے ایا[م الدولت غیاث ا] لاسلام والمسلمین صدر الملوک والسلاطین المخصوص

(٦) بولایة العهد فی العالمین علی شیربن عوض برهان امیر المو[منین فی یوم (؟) السا (؟)] بع من جماد الاخر سنة ثمان عشر وستمایة

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. '(In houses which Allāh has permitted to be exalted and that) His name may be remembered in them; there glorify Him therein in the mornings and evenings,

(2) men whom neither merchandise nor selling diverts from the remembrance (of Allāh and the keeping up of prayer and) the giving of poor-rate; they fear a day in which shall turn about,

(3) 'the hearts and the eyes.'[1] (Saying quoted) from the Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh's (peace and salutations be upon him in) the *Ṣaḥīḥ*:[2] 'Men are in their prayer-houses (mosques) and Allāh is (looking) after their needs'.

(4) This Khānqāh was (built and) donated by the humble creature (*al-Faqīr*), the sinful, the one who hopes (for the mercy of his Nourisher,.......................) son of Muḥammad al-Marāghī (i.e. by origin, of Marāgha[3]), for the benchers (*Ahl-i-Ṣuffa* i.e. ascetics, ṣūfīs)[4] who all the while abide in the presence

(5) of the Exalted Allāh and occupy themselves in the remembrance of the Exalted Allāh in the (time of the government? of the Shelter?) of Islām and the Muslims, Chief among the monarchs and the Sulṯāns, one who is specially favoured

(6) by the lordship of the Time in the Worlds, 'Alī Shīr son of 'Iwaḍ, *Burhānu Amīri'l-Mu'minīn* (lit. Proof of the Commander of the Faithful), on the seventh day of (the month of) Jumādā II, year (A.H.) eighteen and six hundred (7 Jumādā II 618=29 July 1221).

This is an extremely important epigraph. Apart from the fact that as already stated, it happens to be the earliest inscription that has so far come to our notice in the eastern part of the subcontinent, it provides a very interesting piece of information. It refers to the endowment of a religious institution namely the Khānqāh (Hospice). As the students of Indo-Muslim epigraphy are aware, we come across very few inscriptions mentioning this great institution of the Ṣūfīs which has been in vogue in different parts of the country.[5] It is obvious that the Khānqāh was first built to be made available for the lodging of the Ṣūfīs and saints, both resident and travelling. It is generally believed that many saints and Ṣūfīs had made

[1] *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXIV, verses 36-37.

[2] By the Ṣaḥīḥ is meant either of the two Compendiums of Traditions, *al-Jāmi'u'ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* of Imām Bukhārī or *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim.

[3] Marāgha is a famous city in the Ādharbāijān province of Irān.

[4] *Ṣuffa*, 'Bench', means a covered place for reclining on before the doors of Eastern houses or mosques. The phrase *Ahl-i-Ṣuffa* (lit. Men of the Bench) refers to a number of Companions of the Holy Prophet who accompanied him to Madina on his Migration and who, having neither any means nor resources there, lodged in the *Ṣuffa* of the Prophet's mosque. Hence the term is generally applied to Ṣūfīs or ascetics.

[5] For a glimpse into the Khānqāh life in Medieval India, see Professor Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, 'Some Aspects of Khānqāh Life in Medieval India', *Stvdia Islamica*, Paris, MCML, VII, pp. 51-69; Professor Simon Digby, 'Ṣūfīs and Travellers in the Early Delhi Sultanate: The Evidence of the Fawā'idu'l-Fuwād', *Socio-Cultural Impact of Islam on India*, Ed. Dr. Attār Singh (Chandigarh, 1976), pp. 171-78.

Bengal their abode even before the Muslim conquest. After the Muslim occupation of the province, the rulers, nobles and officers strove in the propagation of their faith and growth of the Muslim Society by constructing mosques, *Madrasas*, K͟hānqāhs and Dargāhs. The conqueror of Bengal, Muḥammad-i-Bak͟htyār K͟haljī is reported to have built, apart from mosques and *Madrasas*, K͟hānqāhs for Ṣūfīs. This trend seems to have continued, for in subsequent reigns too, reference to such activities is found. According to the celebrated Mamlūk historian Minhāj-i-Sirāj, G͟hiyāt͟hu'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ K͟haljī gave great encouragement to the Ulema, the *Mas͟hā'ik͟h*, the Sayyids and the like which also included the fraternity of Ṣūfīs.[1] The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been described to represent the heyday of the Ṣūfī missionaries in spreading Islām in Bengal, which in fact became a Ṣūfī stronghold during the early medieval period.[2]

But so far no epigraphic evidence of the construction of a K͟hānqāh during the early medieval period was found in Bengal.[3] The inscription under study thus may be taken to corroborate the literary sources which refer to the construction of K͟hānqāhs immediately after the conquest of Bengal in *c.* 1204 and thus provide indirect evidence for the fact that among the various factors that contributed to the progress of Islām in Bengal, the Ṣūfīs played no less important part. It would also indicate that in the region comprising western part of proper Bengal, Islamic saintly establishments were already at work at this period, and probably since earlier times. The findspot of the record—the tablet seems to have belonged to Siān only as is also clear from the Sanskrit record[4]—also lends weight to the theory that unlike elsewhere in the country, Islām spread mostly in the villages in this part of the country.[5]

But far more important aspect of the inscription is what I take to be the mention of a new ruler. As the students of medieval Indian history know, the phrases used for the person in whose time the Hospice was endowed, viz. *(G͟hiyāt͟h) u'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn, Ṣadru'l-Mulūk w'as-Salāṭīn al-Mak͟hṣūṣ biwilāyati'l-'ihd fi'l-'ālamīn* preceding the name 'Alī S͟hīr son of 'Iwaḍ and *Burhānu Amīri'l-Mu'minīn* following it and the like are used in inscriptions, coins and historical works only for monarchs and rulers.[6] The epigraph can be reasonably taken to refer to his reign as an independent monarch and not as a governor.

In other words, the epigraph mentions a new king of Bengal who at least ruled at the time of the record, to wit, 29th July 1221, a fact of which we were totally in dark till now.

Who is this new king then? He is 'Alī S͟hīr son of 'Iwaḍ. By the latter is in all probability meant the K͟haljī king of Bengal G͟hiyāt͟hu'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ.

As is wellknown, after the conquest of Bengal in *circa* 1204, it was more or less during *c.* 1204-1227 that an independent principality under the erstwhile K͟haljī nobles, one of whom Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ assumed the title G͟hiyāt͟hu'd-Dīn on coming to the throne, came into existence. 'Iwaḍ, the fourth in the line, had made a definite bid for the overlordship of Bengal and the adjoining provinces and has been reckoned as every inch a *Pāds͟hāh*, just, benevolent and wise, a great patron of architecture, a liberal patron of literature and a man of piety and

[1] For details, see Dr. 'Abdu'l-Karīm, *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal* (Dacca, 1959), pp. 40-41, 52, etc.; Dr. Jagdish Nārāyan Sarkār, *Islam in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1972), pp. 20 ff.

[2] 'Abdu'l-Karīm, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[3] As a matter of fact, this is perhaps the only record specifically referring to a K͟hānqāh that has been found in Bengal. We have got about two dozen records of K͟hānqāhs from other parts of the country, but none of them of so early a date.

[4] Sircār, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[5] Cf. Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[6] Cf. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-1912, pp. 22, 27, 29, etc.

generosity. His reign has been acclaimed as a pleasing epoch of peace and prosperity for hi kingdom.[1]

The Khaljī oligarchy ended in 1227 when Bengal came under the Mamlūk rulers of Delh (1227-1287). But the chronology of its individual rulers cannot be reckoned to be final. According to the latest work on the Muslim period of the history of Bengal, 'Iwaḍ ruled fron c. 1213-1227 A.D. (A.H. 610-624).[3] Therefore, the presence of another king in A.H. 618 the date of the inscription under study would on the face of it appear improbable if not impossible. Moreover, none of the modern historians refers to any independent successor of 'Iwaḍ himself. On the other hand, they mention Malik Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Bulkā whom they term only a 'partisan' of 'Iwaḍ as having expelled the imperialists from Bengal bag and baggage and ruled as an independent king for about eighteen months till *circa* 1229 A.D. (A.H. 626). They have failed to take note of the fact, pointed out by Major H. G. Raverty, the translator of the near contemporary source *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī,* that Bulkā is stated by some authorities to be the son of Sulṭān Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ. According to him, another authority distinctly states that the son of the latter was named Nāṣiru'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ and that he reigned for a short time. In one of the manuscripts consulted by Major Raverty, the list of nobles of the Mamlūk Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish's time contains the name Bulkā Malik-i-Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ, that is to say, Bulkā Malik son of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ.[4] No doubt in the printed editions of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī,* the date of the event mentioning Bulkā Malik is given as A.H. 627,[5] but according to Raverty, 'in the oldest and in the majority it is 628'.[6] But the statements of the later authorities which must have been based on good copies of the earlier authorities including the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* cannot be brushed aside easily or summarily, particularly now that we have got some epigraphical evidence supporting the theory that 'Iwaḍ had a son who ruled over his father's territories or parts thereof for some time.

As stated above, chronology of the early independent rulers of Bengal cannot be said to have been finally established. Again, no note has been taken by our historians of what Major Raverty pointed out in this regard a century ago: In fact, he says, there is some discrepancy with respect to the years of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ's death, which according to some accounts including that of the Gaur Ms, took place as early as A.H. 617 (1220 A.D.) after a reign of twelve years, namely from A.H. 606 to A.H. 617 (1209-1220 A.D.).[7]

In view of this, the evidence of the inscription under study assumes far greater significance and undoubtedly, weight. As stated above, the chronology of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ's reign has been fixed from A.H. 610 to A.H. 624 (1213-1227 A.D.).[8] Only two coins believed to have been issued by him after A.H. 618—one of A.H. 620 and A.H. 621—have come to our notice. But it is doubtful if these two coins have been correctly assigned to him. For example, the coin stated to have been minted in A.H. 621 and published by Hoernele,

[1] Sir Jadu-Nāth Sarkār, Ed. *The History of Bengal* (*HB*), vol. II (Dacca, 1948), pp. 27-28. The near contemporary Minhāj-i-Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Calcutta, 1881), p. 163, also speaks very highly of his personal qualities.

[2] For an account of the Khaljī oligarchy in Bengāl, see *ibid.*, pp. 1-11.

[3] Sarkār, *op. cit.* (*HB*), pp. 20-29.

[4] Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 617, and n. 5. The Calcutta text (Minhāj, *op. cit.*, p. 174), also contains the same expression. For Professor S.H. Hoḍiwālā's views in this particular matter, see *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* (Bombay, 1939), p. 215.

[5] Minhāj, *op. cit.*, p. 174; Dr. M.A. Chaghtāi, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Lahore, 1952), p. 85; 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, vol. I (Kābul, 1963), p. 447.

[6] Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 617, n. 5.

[7] *Ibid.*, where the authorities giving this different version are quoted.

[8] Sarkār, *op. cit.* (*HB*), p. 40.

is assigned to him. But the legend on the reverse has (1) Ghiyāthu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (2) Abū'l-Fatḥ 'Iwaḍ bin Ḥusain (3) Qāsimu Amīri'l-Mu'minīn Sulṭān (4) u's-Salāṭīn Mu'izzu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (5) Abū'l-Muẓaffar 'Alī Shīr 'Iwaḍ (6) Burhānu (?) Amīri'l-Muminīn. The published version of the coin reads the last two lines thus: Abū'l-Muẓaffar 'Alī yadu Nāṣir-i-Amīri'l-Mu'minīn. Even if this reading were correct, no explanation for the presence of the name of another person with full regal titles e.g. Mu'izzu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Muẓaffar 'Alī has been given by any numismatist including H. Nelson Wright.[1] But a discerning eye can see that the name of the second person is not merely 'Alī, but 'Alī Shīr and that what has been deciphered as Yadu (يدو) is Shir (شير) of which there should be absolutely no doubt and what has been read as Nāṣir (ناصر) is almost certainly 'Iwaḍ (عوض) of which (وض) are quite clear and definitely preferable to (صر). In other words, the coin in question mentions 'Alī Shīr-i-'Iwaḍ i.e. 'Ali Shīr son of 'Iwaḍ and the reading of the year is doubtful.[2] This legend as extant on the coin—at least from its illustration—does not seem to indicate any relationship between the two names and as such one may be tempted to interpret the presence of two names to show that the crown-prince was allowed the prerogative of issue of coins as in the case of some later Bengal Sulṭāns. But it is doubtful if it was so in the present case. In any case, the coin-legend gives the name 'Alī Shīr 'Iwaḍ which appearing along with that of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ makes it very likely that the two had filial relationship and therefore, 'Alī Shīr mentioned in our record as the *son* of 'Iwaḍ is identical with him and the 'Iwaḍ of the record is none other than Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ.

In short, the epigraph throws up a new name in the list of the pre-Mamlūk rulers of Bengal, indirectly corroborating the accounts mentioned by Major Raverty. Also it would not be surprising if the death of 'Iwaḍ had taken place in A.H. 617 as mentioned by some authorities. In that case 'Alī Shīr, succeeding his father to the throne was reigning in A.H. 618 (1222 A.D.), as he is referred to have done, in the epigraph under study. As to Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Bulkā who ruled for about eighteen months till he was captured and put to death by Iltutmish in *circa* 1229[3] and who is mentioned, as stated above, in some accounts according to Major Raverty, as a son of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn 'Iwaḍ, may have been another son of the latter.

The other person mentioned in the record also calls for some remarks. The text refers to the endowment of a Khānqāh for Ṣūfīs which means that the Khānqāh must have been constructed by the person for them. The name of this builder is lost, but the extant portion, apart from naming his father, interestingly records his *nisba*, viz. al-Marāghī. This means that he originally belonged to or had not long ago come from Marāgha, which is a town in Ādharbā'ijān province of modern Īrān. This shows that he was one of the immigrant foreign Muslims who had come and probably settled down in Bengal. This also indirectly lends weight to the theory that one principal factor responsible for the 'swelling number of the Muslims in Bengal' was the immigration of Muslims from other Islamic countries. Again, the epigraph provides an early reference to an Iranian emigree. That he was a man of consequence —either a trader or an officer enjoying sufficient means, goes without saying.

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[1] H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. II (Oxford, 1907), p. 145, Part II, pl. I. No. 3.

[2] This also shows the need of re-examination of our source-material, paricularly the coins. The inscriptions have in this regard, already, received due attention from us and almost all the inscriptions from Bengal that are known, have been correctly deciphered and listed or published in the epigraphical publications of the Archaeological Survey of India (*Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* and the Journal *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*), but unfortunately our scholars seem to be unaware of these publications.

[3] Sarkār, *op. cit.* (*HB*), p. 44.

Unfortunately, nothing whatsoever can be said about the building of the Khānqāh for announcing the endowment of which the epigraph was set up. The saint Makhdūm Shāh in whose Dargāh the slabs were found built up does not appear to be old. Nor is there any authentic information available about the Makhdūm.[1] It is therefore difficult to say of which saint's residence or Dargāh, the Khānqāh in question formed part.

[1] His name does not appear among the foremost Ṣūfis of Bengal or those who wielded considerable influence over the masses and are venerated by the people even today. For these, see 'Abdu'l-Karīm, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-123. The *Birbhum District Gazetteer* is also totally silent about the Dargāh or the saint; as a matter of fact, it does not mention the village Siān at all.

A PERSIAN-SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF KARNA DEVA VAGHELA OF GUJARAT

By Dr. Z. A. Desāi

1

My attention to the bilingual epigraph that is published here for the first time was drawn by Dr. R. N. Mehtā, Professor and Head of the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Indian History, M. S. University, Baroda, who had sent a photograph thereof inviting my considered view on the epigraph, in the context of the purport of the Sanskrit version which he had partially read. On examination, it was found to be of immense historical interest and therefore, Dr. Mehtā, through whom it has come to light, is to be congratulated for this extremely important document throwing valuable light on and clearing up some aspects of the conquest of Gujarāt by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī of Delhi (1296-1316).

2

The question as to whether the last Hindū ruler of Gujarāt, Rāi Karna Deva Vāghelā, lost his kingdom in 1299 A.D. when the province was attacked by the forces of the Delhi Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī under the command of his brother Ulugh Khān and his general Nuṣrat Khān, or a second expedition to Gujarāt was necessary before the Vāghelā kingdom was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate has not been finally or fully answered. While the consensus of the latest writers on the subject seems to be in favour of Karna's final disappearance from the Gujarāt scene only after a second campaign, about half a decade or so later, the word of finality has yet to be pronounced. The main reason for want of a definite answer to this question has been the confusing accounts of historical sources, both Hindū and Muslim.[1] Hindū sources mention only one campaign. Then again, there is no unanimity in their account. Almost all of the Muslim historians and writers including contemporary Amīr Khusraw and slightly later Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī speak of only one campaign.[2] Among the early writers, a near-contemporary, 'Iṣāmī is the only one who clearly speaks of two invasions. From the

[1] For a sum up of these, see Dr. A. K. Majumdār, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat* (Bombay, 1956), pp. 188-93; Dr. S. C. Misra, *Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat* (Bombay, 1963), pp. 61-66; K.M. Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjara Desa*, part II (Bombay, 1955), pp. 401-09; R. C. Parikh and Dr. H. G. Shāstri, *Gujarāt-no-Rājakiya ane Sanskrutik Itihās*, vol. 4, Solanki-Kāl (Ahmadābād, V. S. 2032, A.D. 1976), pp. 94-98, 104-06.

Dr. Majumdār's sum up is the most detailed and factually quite faithful too, except for the statement assighed to 'Iṣāmī that 'Karna shut himself in a fort where he was besieged for a long time after which he escaped' (*ibid.*, p. 188). No such statement is made by 'Iṣāmī on page 242—or, for that matter elsewhere—of his *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* cited by Dr. Majumdār who had the relevant passages from this work translated by Mr. K. M. Maitra.

[2] Amīr Khusraw, *Khazā'inu'l-Futūḥ* (Treasures of Victories), Calcutta, 1853, pp. 46-49; Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 251-53.

However, Amīr Khusraw in his poem *'Āshiqa* or *Dawal Rānī-Khiḍr-Khān* (Aligarh 1917), pp. 82-87, seems to refer to another expedition also. According to this metrical account, the second expedition was undertaken eight years later at the instance of Kawlā Devī, captured in the first expedition and admitted to the royal harem, to get her daughter by Karna Deva. See also Majumdār, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90.

inscription under study, it would appear that 'Iṣāmī's account, though not as detailed as one would wish, is most correct.[1]

According to 'Iṣāmī, when the Khaljī army under Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān, proceeding towards Soraṭh, neared 'that country', Karna, the ruler thereof, on hearing of it, debated with himself as to whether, he, ill-equipped and unprepared as he was in the face of the sudden attack of such a powerful army which had taken a number of countries and defeated many armies should give a fight right then or should retire into a fortress. Realising that he was neither a match for the Turk hordes nor was it advisable to fall a prisoner into their hands, he sent for and consulted his ministers who ultimately counselled him to leave the country in view of his being far from ready for battle, lie low till the Turkish troops returned, then emerge and recover the kingdom and raise sufficient and well-equipped armies so that in the event of a renewed attack of the Turks, they would meet with sure defeat. Thereupon, the Rāi fled the same night in utter distraction, leaving behind him his entire property—parasol, elephants and treasures as well as his harem.[2]

On the third day after Karna's flight, the Khaljī army came to Pāṭan, 'a city abounding in valuable commodities and precious metals like gold, silver, ruby and pearls and treasures of great value, every house there having a hundred caskets of ornaments'. After plundering the city for three days, during which the soldiers ransacked every lane and every house where they found a hidden treasure in every corner, it returned to its country and city (that is, Delhi). The spoils included seven majestic elephants.[3]

Then when 'Alāu'd-Dīn was relieved of the Mongol menace, he despatched Malik Aḥmad Jhītam to Gujarāt. On the latter's swift and unnoticed arrival at Pāṭan, by daybreak, Karna, taken unawares, left everything behind and fled leaving his army and family; he went to Marhat (i. e. Marāṭhā) country, but having been refused asylum there, he went to Telangānā, where Rudra Dev gave him shelter. Malik Aḥmad entered Pāṭan and took possession of Karna's entourage, estates and entire seraglio, including the young and beautiful Dewal (Devī).[4]

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[1] Mr. K.M. Munshi, puzzled at the absence of a reference to the return of Karna to, and occupation of, his capital by any other authority, is inclined to think that 'Iṣāmī reconstructed a more coherent story of a disconnected age (*op. cit.*, p. 408). The fact is that 'Iṣāmī simply mentioned a fact as was known to him.

[2] 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Āgrā, 1938), pp. 242-43; (Madrās, 1948), pp. 252-53; Eng. tr. Dr. Āghā Mahdī Ḥusain, part III (Bombay, 1976), pp. 422-23. It will be seen from this that 'Iṣāmī never says that Karna shut himself in a fortress where he was besieged for a long time after which he escaped, as inexplicably stated at two places by Majumdār, *op. cit.*, pp. 188, 190. It is unlikely that Mr. K. M. Maitra did not correctly translate the relevant passage from the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* for Dr. Majumdār. The latter perhaps chose to distort 'Iṣāmī's version.

Likewise, to credit Karna with having 'fought throughout hard and grimly' and 'successfully resisted his (Alp Khān's) progress in *c.* A.D. 1306', as done by Mr. K. M. Munshi (*op. cit.*, pp. 408-09) is against known historical facts. As pointed out by Dr. S. C. Misra, 'in no contemporary history, Jain, Rajput or Persian, it is suggested that Karna made a bold stand for his capital as suggested by Mr. Munshi (Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 60, f. n. 1).

[3] *Ibid.* (Āgrā), pp. 243-44; (Madrās), p. 253; Mahdī Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, pp. 423-24. Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī also speaks of treasures, elephants and womenfolk falling into the hands of the Muslim army (*op. cit.*, p. 251).

Incidentally, 'Iṣāmī does not mention the sack of Somnāth and Khambhāt (Cambay) which both Amīr Khusraw (*Khazā'inu'l-Futūḥ*, pp. 48-49) and Baranī (*op. cit.*, p. 251) mention. He simply refers to the march of the Khaljī army towards Soraṭh (*op. cit.*, Āgrā, p. 242; Madrās, p. 252). Dr. Mahdī Ḥusain, in his translation (*op. cit.*, p. 422), gives the destination of this expedition as Surat (in south Gujarāt), which is inexplicable, as in his own edition of 'Iṣāmī's work as also in the Madrās edition, just quoted, the name is spelt as Sorath, i. e. the region comprising the erstwhile Junāgaḍh state in which Somnāth lay.

[4] 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, (Āgrā), pp. 278-79; (Madrās), pp. 286-87.

Until recently, historians were inclined to take the first conquest of Gujarāt as final. For example, according to Sir Wolseley Haig, Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān set out for Delhi after establishing a Muslim government in Gujarāt.[1] Professor M. S. Commissariat also places the introduction of Muslim domination in the province in 1298.[2] Professor Sukumār Roy also refers to the establishment of Muslim authority in Gujarāt at this time.[3] Even Professor K. S. Lāl who had access to 'Iṣāmī's work and later researches on the subject, speaks of the annexation of the Gujarāt kingdom by 1299. According to him, the victorious generals returned towards Delhi after leaving an army of occupation and Alp Khān who was appointed governor remained there from 1300 to about 1314.[4]

Dr. A. K. Majumdār was perhaps the first to suggest that within three years of Karna's accession to the throne in V. S. 1353 (1296 A. D.), his kingdom was submerged under Muslim invasion, but that disaster probably passed away, affording the unfortunate Vāghelā monarch respite to return and retrieve the situation as best as he could, to be again invaded and divested of his kingdom hardly within a decade.[5] While Dr. Majumdār marshalled all available facts from Hindū and Muslim sources, he was unable to pronounce final or categorical answer to this question. However, it must be said to his credit that he was inclined to consider 'Iṣāmī's version to be the correct one and held that Ulugh Khān's invasion did not produce any permanent result, Karna returned to his capital and then came the second invasion under Malik Aḥmad Jhītam resulting in the complete conquest of Gujarāt and compelling Karna to find refuge in Tilangānā after having been refused asylum by Rāmchandra of Deogiri.[6] This was, according to him, in 1304.[7]

Dr. S. C. Misra also, reying on the same source, subscribed to the view that the Khaljī army turned its back on what was virtually a conquered area and in consequence, Karna was able to return to his capital and resume his rule,[8] albeit for a few years, until A.H. 704 (1304-05 A.D.), the year in which 'Alāu'd-Dīn, gaining respite from Mongol attacks, ordered another invasion of Gujarāt under Malik Aḥmad Jhaitan (sic.).[9]

In the latest work on the history of Gujarāt, also, the writers of the relevant chapter, considering the question of one or two invasions as debatable, seem to agree with Dr. Majumdār and accept 'Iṣāmī's version of the final conquest of Gujarāt after the second expedition under Malik Aḥmad Jhītam and appointment of Alp Khān as the first governor of the newly acquired province thereafter.[10]

[1] Sir Wolseley Haig, Ed. *The Cambridge History of India*, volume II (Cambridge, 1928), p. 100.

[2] Professor M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarāt*, vol. I (Bombay, 1938), pp. 1-5.

[3] Dr. R. C. Majumdār, Ed. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. VI, The Delhi Sultanate (Bombay, 1960), p. 19.

[4] Dr. K. S. Lāl, *History of the Khaljis* (Revised Edition, New Delhi, 1980), pp. 71 (and f.n. 20), 73. It is rather surprising that Professor Lāl in the revised edition does not take into account or refer to the detailed analysis of the Gujarāt expedition given by Dr. A. K. Majumdār who had criticised him for making this statement in the first edition (*op. cit.*, p. 471, f.n. 27).

[5] A. K. Majumdār, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 192. Dr. A. K. Majumdār seems to think that 'either the Muslim army left of its own will, or it was driven out' (*ibid.*). The first alternative was apparently the case.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 189. This date is based on Merutunga's *Vichāraśrenī.*

[8] See note 1 on p. 16, *infra*.

[9] Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

[10] R. C. Parikh and Dr. H. G. Shāstri, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-06.

In this work, however, it is also stated that Ulugh Khān had, after the first conquest, entrusted the administration of the province to Malik Khān Sarwar who held charge for three years after which the Gujarātīs rebelled and Alp Khān was appointed (*ibid.*, p. 106). This statement, based on the account of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn's expedition to Pāṭan in person, as given in the Supplement of a late eighteenth century work ('Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Khātima-i-Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadi*, Baroda, 1930, p. 110), is not supported by any early authority.

In short, the latest consensus seems to veer round the view that after the Khaljī army returned to Delhi, Rāi Karna must have regained his kingdom after some time[1] and resumed his rule. He reigned until V. S. 1360 (1303-04 A.D.) or so, when he must have been again compelled to flee Gujarāt by Malik Aḥmad Jhītam.

The inscription studied in the following lines helps to settle once for all the question as to when Gujarāt actually came under direct Delhi control. Clearly referring to Rāi Karna as a reigning monarch on the 1st Muḥarram 704 (4th August 1304)—the initial day of the Hijra year—it corroborates the account of 'Iṣāmī who, as has been seen above, places the final conquest of Gujarāt and appointment of a permanent governor after 'Alāu'd-Dīn gained respite from Mongol attacks in about A.H. 704 (1304-05 A.D.). Karna must have regained his kingdom before the Hijra year 704 set in. If 'Iṣāmī is to be believed and there is no reason why he should not be, Karna was once more on the throne of Gujarāt at least in 1303 A.D. when Malik Nā'ib Shāhīn fled to him suspicious of the evil designs on his life by his master 'Alāu'd-Dīn, as seen above (see f.n. 1).

The inscription also supports 'Iṣāmī on another point. In the course of the return journey to Delhi, Ulugh Khān forcibly tried to take the Sulṭān's share from the rich booty collected by the soldiers and officers in the course of the first expedition.[2] At this, the Neo-Muslim Mongols led by intrepid chiefs, Qamīzī, Muḥammadshah, Gabhrū, Balchaq and Barq, got enraged, rose in revolt and made an attempt to kill Ulugh Khān. But, having ultimately failed in their attempt, they fled, Muḥammadshah and Gabhrū having sought asylum in the fort of Ranthambhore and Balchaq, Barq and Karrī having joined Karna Rāi.[3] Yaḥyā Sarhindī mentions some more Mongol Neo-Muslim chiefs, viz. Baigī, Tamghān, Timur Bugha, Shādī Bugha and Qutlugh Bugha.[4]

Our inscription also shows that the Mongol chiefs Balchaq and Shādī—apparently Shādī Bugha of Yaḥyā Sarhindī[5]—had gone over to Rāi Karna who seems to have granted them not only asylum but as is amply suggested by the text, also high positions. It also stands to reason to infer that just as the flight of Neo-Muslim Mongol rebels Muḥammadshah and

[1] It is not known exactly when Karna returned to Gujarāt. That in 1303 at least, he was already ruling there once again, is a fact of which none of the modern writers on the subject has taken note of. This very significant information is given by 'Iṣāmī who says that when Ulugh Khān was poisoned under orders of his brother 'Alāu'd-Dīn, Malik Shāhīn, a slave whom 'Alāu'd-Dīn loved like a son and who had been made Malik Nā'ib and, after the conquest of Chitor which is generally placed in August 1303, was stationed there under the Sulṭān's orders, revolted and fled to Gujarāt to Karna, lest the suspicious monarch also had him poisoned ('Iṣāmī, *op.cit.*, Madrās, pp. 281-282; Āgrā, pp. 272-73). Shāhīn's flight to Gujarāt must have taken place after the conquest of Chitor only.

At the same time, it may be worthwhile to point out that in an Arabic epitaph from Khambhāt, dated 5 Rajab 698 (8 April 1299), the deceased Shihābu'd-Dīn is referred to as the governor (*ḥākim*) of Kambāya i.e. Khambhāt (*Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement—EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 3-4). This would mean that Khambhāt was already in effective control of a Muslim governor in and before and possibly after April 1299. The evidence of this inscription should not be lost sight of while ascertaining the time of Karna's return to power, which has not so far been attempted.

[2] 'Iṣāmī does not mention any soldier being subjected to torture. He simply speaks of Ulugh Khān having started to remove by force the articles from every tent. However, his junior contemporary Baranī (*op. cit.*, p. 252) and later historians like Yaḥyā Sarhindī (*Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 76) and others do mention various kinds of brutal punishments and tortures inflicted on them.

[3] For details, see 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.* (Āgrā), pp. 244-45; (Madrās), pp. 254-55. Also see Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb and Professor Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, Ed. *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. V, Delhi Sultanate (New Delhi, 1970), p. 335.

[4] Yaḥyā Sarhindī, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[5] This in turn shows the veracity of the statement of this historian, who seems to have given these additional names on an earlier authority, which unfortunately he does not mention.

Gabhrū to Ranthambhore and grant of asylum to them by its Chauhān chief Hammīr Dev had provided a handy excuse and justification for the Khaljī monarch's expedition to and subjugation of Ranthambhore,[1] a similar situation in Gujarāt where Balchaq and others had been well received by Rāi Karna must have at least expedited, if not prompted, the second invasion and final conquest of Gujarāt under Malik Aḥmad Jhītam.

3

On 1st January 1981, Shri N. A. Paṭel, the Sarpanch of the Grām Panchāyat of the Village Sāmplā (Soplā of the Survey of India maps),[2] Tālukā Pādrā, District Vaḍodarā, informed the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Indian History of the M.S. University Baroda about the recovery of a marble statue (sic.) of the year 1360 in the course of digging operations at the mound situated on the northern bank of the village-pond and requested them to examine it. Consequently, Dr. R. N. Mehtā, Professor and Head of the Department, visited the place and found it to be not a statue but an inscribed slab, which from its appearance he mistook for a tombstone. Dr. Mehtā lost no time and reported the find to me through a communication dated 13th January 1981 accompanied by a photograph of the bilingual record, giving details of the date in the *Nāgarī* version and desiring me to give him my considered view. This has resulted in the present detailed study of the epigraph.

Sāmplā is a village of about 1,800 souls, situated in 22°5′ north latitude and 72°50′ east longitude, at a distance of about 45 kilometres from Vaḍodarā, about 4 kilometres off the Vaḍodarā-Jambusar Road, opposite Gajerā. It lies about 2 kilometres from the Māsar Road Railway Station on the Pratāpganj (Vaḍodarā)-Jambusar Narrow Gauge section of the Western Railway. Adjacent to the village on the north-east is a large pond, on the western bank of which, near the village, a little towards west, is a mound, on one side of which are a few graves and remains of brick-construction. While digging out the earth on the north-west side of the mound from the pond-side, the top caved in disclosing three pieces of a marble tablet, below the caved-in-surface. On the Sarpanch of the village, who saw some writing on the fragments, informing his Department, Dr. Mehtā lost no time to visit the place and brought the inscribed fragments to his Department. Subsequently, at my behest, Shri N. M. Ganam, Superintending Epigraphist for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, who visited Vaḍodarā, got its inked rubbings prepared. It is from these rubbings that the inscription is being edited here.[3]

I myself visited Sāmplā on the 26th June 1981 to see if we could gather any further information. Dr. Mehtā was kind enough to arrange for the visit and acompany me. We visited the original findspot of the inscription in the company of the Sarpanch. No traces of the missing fragments were reported. But the local people were of the view that excavation of the site may perhaps help in recovering them.

The village has no monument of any sort, except the remains of the brick-construction with graves mentioned above. A dwarf brick minar stands at one end; it could be part of the pair that may have flanked the entrance to the enclosure. It does not seem to have been one of the two minārs of a Qanātī—one-wall mosque, as the ground level on its east which should be the mosque-platform, is at quite a low level.

The village Sāmplā lies to the south-east of the railway line. It is almost on the border of Bharuch (Broach) and Vaḍodarā districts, the Bharuch district being hardly less than a kilometre away. The village Velam (Vehelam of the Survey maps) across the border in Bharuch district is hardly two kilometres away. The land to the north of Sāmplā in Vaḍodarā district is locally called Wākal while that to the south and east of the railway line forms

[1] Lāl, *op. cit.*, p. 83 and f.n. 9.

[2] Quarter Inch Map, 40 B, 22°5′ Lat. 72°50′ Long.

[3] The inscription is being listed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1980-81.

part of the tract called Kānam occupying a considerable portion of Bharuch and Vāḍodarā districts.

The fragmentary inscribed marble tablet, as stated above, is now preserved in the said Department of Archaeology and Ancient Indian History. The rectangular tablet measuring 85 cm. in height and 22 cm. in width has been engraved at the top with a cusped arch resting on ornamental jambs topped with pots, while from its apex is suspended a pot at the end of a chain. A tall narrow conventional tree rises on each side of the arch-jamb while from the springing-point of the arch also appears, on each side, a huge tree-like motif. This type of tablet is found normally used as a tombstone or inscribed headstone of a grave, but in this case it is not so.

The tablet contains a bilingual record. On the top, below the arch is the Persian epigraph running into twelve lines and immediately below it is the Sanskrit inscription in eight lines. The inscriptions in Persian and Sanskrit are incomplete, as two large chunks and one small bit of the inscribed slab are missing. Fortunately, this has not affected the historical purport of both the versions which is more or less preserved in entirety.

The Persian text is inscribed in relief in ornamental *Naskh* of a high order, which was apparently designed by an expert calligrapher.

The inscription states that on Tuesday, the 1st of the month of Muḥarram 704 (4th August 1304), through the charitable intentions of the just king Rāi Karna Dev, may his kingdom increase and of Maliku'l-Akābir (lit. Prince among the Great) Balchaq and Maliku'l-Umarā (lit. Prince among the nobles) Shādī, may their victory be glorified, Tāju'd-Dīn Ḥasan son of Vazīru'l-Vuzarā (lit. Minister of Ministers, i.e. Chief Minister) Najmu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Khaṭīb made an endowment of the village Sāmbā i.e. Sāmpā[1] in the *Kānam*-and, with all its limits and its revenue and whatever is connected with it for the Jāmi' mosque of Kambāyat (Khambhāyat, i.e. Khambhāt or Cambay). It exhorts the Muslims to abide by the terms of the trust and invokes imprecation of the curse of God and His Prophet and that of the Cursers and the angels against those who seek to misappropriate the trust or violate it in any way.

The Sanskrit version is more incomplete than its Persian counterpart, but sufficient text has survived to show that it also runs to the same effect except that the name of Malik Shādī is lost. It states that on (2) Vadi of Bhādrapada (Vikrama) Samvat 1360 (18 August 1304), through Mahārājādhirāj Karṇa, Malik Śrī Baḍchak, Malik Śrī (Shādī) and Śrī Hasan endowed the village Sāmpā for the mosque of Stam(bhatirtha) for religious purposes. It also asks all the Rāṇakas to abide by it.

The text of the Persian version reads as under:—

TEXT

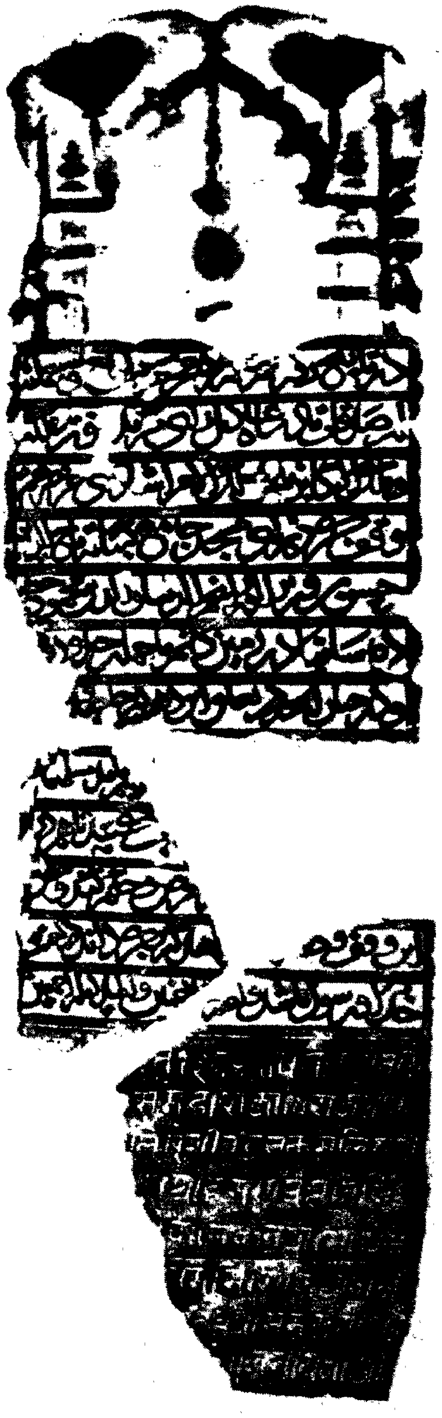
Plate II (a)

(۱) در تاریخ روز سه شنبه غره محرم سنه اربع وسبعمایه
(۲) از صدقات بادشاه عادل رای کرندیو زید ملکه
(۳) و ملک الاکابر بلچق (و) ملک الامرا شادی عز نصرهم
(۴) وقف کرد برای مسجد جامع کنبایة تاج الدین
(۵) حسن بن وزیرالوز را نجم الدنیا والدین محمود خطی[ب]

[1] The text has Sāmbā. Sāmpā is evidently meant, as the sound *p* is represented in Arabic alphabet by *b*.

INSCRIPTION FROM BARODA (VADODARĀ)

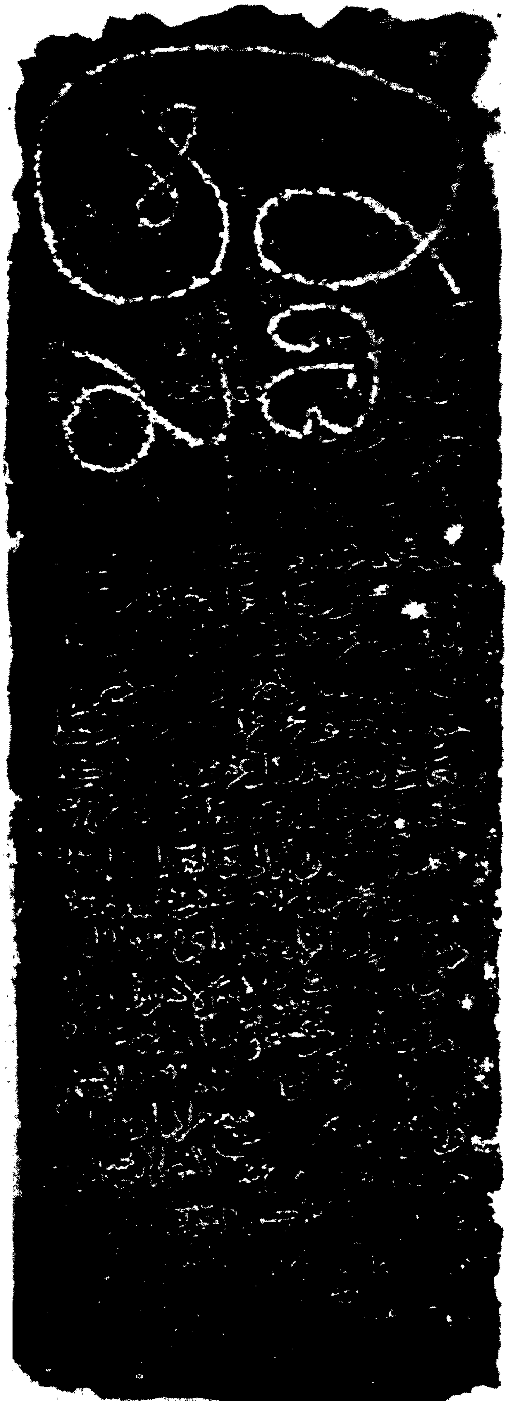
(*a*) Bilingual record of Karna Dev Vaghela, dated A.H. 704 (p. 18)



SCALE: .23

QUTB SHĀHĪ RECORD FROM ANDHRA PRADESH

(*b*) Inscription of Malik Quṭbu'l-Mulk, dated A.H. 935, from Rājupeṭā (p. 40)



SCALE: .15

(٦) ده سانبا (= سانپا) د ر زوين كانم با جمله حد ود...

(٧) و د ر چنان (= جهات ؟) انچه د ر تعلق اين دهست از حاصل و..

(٨) ....همه؟ بايد مسلمانان

(٩) ....كنند تا همه د ر

(١٠) ....يا ؟ تعرض وحكم كند ونقض

(١١) اين وقف وصيت (؟) .....دهد گر بگر د اند د ر لعنت

(١٢) خدا و رسول باشد و لعنة اللاعنين و الملائكة اجمعين

TRANSLATION

(1) On the date, Tuesday, the first of (the month of) Muḥarram, year (A.H.) four and seven hundred (1 Muḥarram 704=4 August 1304),

(2) through the grace of the just king Rāi Karṇ Dev, may his kingdom increase

(3) and Maliku'l-Akābir (lit. Prince among the Great) Bal<u>ch</u>aq (and) Maliku'l-Umarā (lit. Prince of the nobles) <u>Sh</u>adī, may their victory be glorified,

(4-5) Tāju'd-Dīn (lit. Crown of the Religion) Ḥasan son of Vazīru'l-Vuzarā (lit. Minister of the ministers i.e. Chief Minister) Najmu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Star of the State and the Religion) made an endowment for the Jāmi' mosque of Kambāya (t) (i.e. Khambhāt or Cambay),

(6) of the village Sāmbā i.e. Sāmpā in the land of Kānam, with all its boundaries

(7) and whatever in the vicinities is related to this village and the income and.........

(8) ....the Muslims should

(9) ....do so that they all, in

(10) ....should object to or pass any judgement against it or seek to breach this endowment (and) attestation, or change it, will incur the curse

(12) of God and (His) Prophet and (also) the curse of the Cursers and the angels, all of them.

The Sanskrit version has been deciphered as under[1]:—

TEXT

Plate II (a)

(१) [श्री सं] वत १३६० वर्षे भाद्रवा वदि

(२) [दितिय भौ] मे महाराजाधिराज श्री क–

(३) [र्णदेव]··· मलिष श्री बडचक मलिष श्री

(४) [शादी] ······व श्री हसण प्रभृति भि:

(५) [कानमे सां]पाभिधान ग्रामोयं स्तं–

(६) [भतीर्थे जा]मे मिसि किया धर्म्मे

(७) ······[प्र] दात्त:।। समस्तराणकै:

(८) [रनु मंतव्य श्च] पालनीय: ।। ठ ।।

[1] In the decipherment of this portion, Dr. R. N. Mehtā's help is gratefully acknowledged.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the auspicious year Saṁvat 1360, Bhādrapada Vadi
(2) (two, Tuesday) Mahārājādhirāja Ka-
(3) (rṇa Deva Ma)lik Śrī Baḍchak, Malik Śrī
(4) (Shādī.........) and Śrī Ḥasaṇa and the like,
(5-7) gave the village named Sāmpā in Kānam for religious purpose for the Stam-(bhatirtha Jā)mi' mosque. All the Rānās (local chiefs) should honour and
(8) execute it. That is all.

Apart from settling thus, once for all, the time of Gujarāt's final conquest by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī and corroborating the poet-historian 'Iṣāmī, the epigraph is important in other respects as well. It will have been observed that the land in which the village Sāmpā is situated is called in the Persian version *Kānam*, a name applied to the black cotton soil[1] for which Bharuch district is famous. This appears to be the earliest—early fourteenth century—mention of the term *Kānam* which has survived in this very form till today.

Secondly, the inscription, particularly the *Nāgarī* portion, helps to settle the pronunciation of the proper name of the Neo-Muslim Mongol chief Balchaq. This name is variously written and pronounced in Persian works. For example, in the Madrās edition of 'Iṣāmī's *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, it is written as Yalchaq,[2] while it is Yalḥaq in its Āgrā edition,[3] though its editor Dr. A. Mahdī Ḥusain in its English translation spells it as Yalchaq only.[4] Dr. K. S. Lāl also has Yalhaq,[5] which too is preferred by Dr. Banārasi Prasād Saksenā.[6] That the name is Balchaq—Baḍchaq of the *Nāgarī* version—with initial *b*, followed by a sound somewhere between *l* and *r* and penultimate *ch*, is clear from the epigraph.

Thirdly, the epigraph adds one more name to the meagre list of officials of this period in Gujarāt. The donor's father Najmu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd is described as Vazīru'l-Vuzarā or the Chief Minister. Unfortunately for want of details, it is difficult to say anything about his sphere of political activity. But it may be noted here that the merchant-princes of Cambay were vested with official position in the Sultanate period.[7] About the donor, however, we are not in a position to say anything. That he was a man of such means as to be able to donate a village can be taken to indicate his status. It is likely that he also belonged to the merchant-*cum*-official class and held landed property.

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[1] Kāhnam or Kānam soil is black, is easily tilled and of great depth and containing, as it does, a fair proportion of organic matter, it hardly requires manure (M. R. Majumdār, *Cultural History of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1965, p. 52).

[2] 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.* (Madrās), pp. 254, 255. In the Hyderābād manuscript copy of this work, the name is stated to have been transcribed as 'Baljaq' (*ibid.*, p. 254, f. n.) which is nearer to the correct spelling, the sound *ch* being represented by *j* in Arabic script.

[3] *Ibid.* (Āgrā), pp. 244, 245.

[4] Mahdī Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, pp. 424, 425.

[5] Lāl, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[6] Ḥabīb and Niẓāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

[7] For example, Maliku't-Tujjār Zakīu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn 'Umar al-Kāzerūnī of Khambhāt was one (*EIAPS*, 1971, p. 40).

INSCRIPTION FROM THE JAUNPUR FORT MOSQUE

By Dr. Z. A. Desāi

The mosque of Ibrāhīm Nā'ib Bārbak inside the fort is the oldest dated extant building of Jaunpur, some time capital of the Sharqī rulers and now a district headquarters in Uttar Pradesh.[1] A long narrow building, externally measuring about 40 by 7.2 metres, its interior is divided into a central hall and two side ones. The central hall is converted by two arches into three compartments, each covered by a dome. The side rooms have each five openings in front, with a flat architrave supported on rows of Hindū pillars of various shapes and designs. Two stone columns were originally placed at a short distance from the mosque. Only one of these is now standing, about 8.2 metres from the middle of the southern wing, the position of the second being marked by a broken plinth.[2] Rising from the front of the mosque to a total height of 12.2 metres, the octagonal base of the standing minār rises in five steps to the height of about 1.37 metres, while the pillar standing on its upper face, is first square with a side of .5 metres, then octagonal and then round, the whole crowned by a capital. The upper half of the octagonal section of this pillar is inscribed by a record of six lines running horizontally.

Major General A. Cunningham found 'this long inscription engraved in *Tughrā* characters' difficult to read. He sent a copy of it to Mr. H. Blochmann (who published its text and translation in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1875) and quoted its contents, in his report.[3] Earlier, Maulavī Khairu'd-Dīn Muḥammad had published its reading in his *Jaunpūr Nāma*. Dr. A. Führer also published its text and translation: his reading differs at a number of places from that of Blochmann, but agrees in the main with it in his translation; he sought to fill up in brackets the lacunae in the reading with the readings given by Khairu'd-Dīn.[4] According to both Blochmann and Führer, the construction of the mosque took place in Dhū'l-Qa'da 778 (April 1376), but the former ascribes the building to the reign of Fīrūz Tughluq and the 'time of Ibrāhīm Nā'ib Bārbak, the king',[5] while according to the latter, who relied on the *Jaunpūr Nāma* to fill up the lacunae in the reading, the mosque

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[1] For a brief history, monuments and inscriptions of Jaunpur, see A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XI (Calcutta, 1880, Reprint Vārānasī, 1968), pp. 102-26; A. Führer, *The Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpur* (Calcutta, 1889, Reprint Vārāṇasī, 1971); A Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allāhābād, 1891, Reprint Vārānasī, 1969), pp. 178-85; H.R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, vol. XXVIII, Jaunpur (Allāhābād, 1908), pp. 231-49; Khān Bahādur Maulavī Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn, *The Sharqi Monuments of Jaunpur* (Allāhābād, 1922); Sayyid Iqbāl Aḥmad, *Tārīkh-i-Shīrāz-i-Hind Jaunpūr* in Urdū (Jaunpur, 1963); Sayyid Iqbāl Aḥmad, *Sharqī Rājya Jaunpūr-kā-Itihās* in Hindī (Jaunpur, 1968); *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1958-59, Nos. D, 201-10; 1963-64, Nos. D, 351-63; 1965-66, Nos. D, 581-88; 1970-71, Nos. D, 148-73; *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*), 1964, p. 12 and f.n. 1 (where a few more references will be found); 1969, pp., 68, 74.

[2] For a detailed description, plan of the mosque, etc., see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-07, pl. XXXI and Führer, *op. cit.* (*Sharqī Architecture*), pp. 25-27.

[3] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 106; *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*PASB*), 1875, p. 15.

[4] Führer, *op. cit.* (*Sharqī Architecture*), p. 26.

[5] *PASB*, 1875, p. 16. It is surprising that a scholar of Blochmann's eminence shouldl translate *Nā'ib-i-Bārbak-i-Shāh* thus.

'was ordered by' the king. Führer also says that it was built in the time of 'Ibrāhīm Nā'ib Bārbak, the king'. Führer further says that Khairu'd-Dīn Muḥammad gives A.H. 798,[1] but according to the latter's reading quoted in a modern work on the history of Jaunpur in all its aspects by Sayyid Iqbāl Aḥmad, the date is A.H. 801.[2]

Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult any good copy of the *Jaunpūr Nāma*. Apart from it, a complete reading of the epigraph is given by Khān Bahādur Maulavī Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn in his work on the Sharqī Monuments of Jaunpur but he does not specify whether the reading is his own or that of Khairu'd-Dīn Muḥammad. However, a comparison of the readings quoted by Iqbāl Aḥmad and Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn shows that they are identical. It is difficult to say if both of them have independently quoted Khairu'd-Dīn Muḥammad's reading only or it is copied by Iqbāl Aḥmad from the Khān Bahādur's work.

Whatever be the case, the said reading of Khairu'd-Dīn Muḥammad quoted by Iqbāl Aḥmad and Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn is faulty and unreliable, more so in regard to the date. Also, the reading of the date by Blochmann accepted by Cunningham and Führer, is incorrect. As a result, all these writers have been led into error as regard to the period of the mosque. More than Cunningham and Führer who at least correctly assign it to Ibrāhīm Bārbak, the brother of Fīrūz Shāh,[3] Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn and following him Iqbāl Aḥmad severely criticise Dr. Führer and others for misreading the inscription. According to Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn, they 'mistakenly think that the mosque was built in 778 A.H. (1377 A.D.) by one Ibrahim Naib Barbak, brother of Firoz Tughlaq. They have apparently misread the inscription which in simple language means that the mosque was built in the Fort of Sultan Firoz Tughlaq during the auspicious reign of the Sultanush-Sharq Atabak Azam by his brother, regent prince Ibrahim in the month of Zeeqad and the year 801 A.H. Khairud-Din seems to have read the main portion of the inscription correctly which he quotes in the Jaunpurnāma, and so he states that the mosque was built by Prince Ibrahim in the time of Sultanu'sh-Sharq. It is, therefore, clear that the date of the mosque is four decades later than that quoted by Dr. Führer and other English writers and that it does not synchronise with the date of the construction of the Fort.'[4] Iqbāl Aḥmad who accepts Dhū'l-Qa'da 801 (July-August 1399) as the date of the epigraph goes a step further and says that 'the fact is that the mosque was built by Ibrāhīm Nā'ib-i-Bārbak, who was the brother of Fīrūz Shāh, but at that time, the ruler was Sulṭānu'sh-Sharq Khwāja Jahān, because he established his independence in Jaunpur in 1396 A.D. and commenced his rule in 1397 A.D. after assuming the title Nā'ib-Atābak-i-A'ẓam. Dr. Führer or those who say that the mosque was got built by Ibrāhīm Bārbak in 1376 A.D. are also wrong; they have committed a mistake in reading the *Ṭughrā* script. The *Ṭughrā* text simply means that this mosque inside the fort was constructed through Prince Ibrāhīm, brother of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq in Dhū'l-Qa'da 801 in the reign of Sulṭānu'sh-Sharq. It is obvious that this must be the date of completion and we will have to take it for granted that it was commenced a year or two earlier.'[5] In the same breath he says, 'since Mubārak Shāh and Ibrāhīm Shāh lived with Khwāja Jahān and discharged all the affairs of the state due to their high capability and efficiency, it may also be correct to say that it was built in the time of Ibrāhīm Shāh'.[6]

[1] Führer, *op. cit.* (*Sharqī Architecture*), p. 27; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-07.
[2] Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op. cit.* (Urdū), p. 357; Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.
[3] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 106; Führer, *op. cit.* (*Sharqī Architecture*), p. 27.
[4] Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24. The fort, according to him (*ibid.*, p. 17), is said to have been built by Fīrūz Tughluq in A.H. 762 (1360 A.D.).
[5] Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
[6] *Ibid.*

Needless to say, these statements and assertions are totally wrong and need to be corrected. It is hoped that the present study will provide an authentic reading of this important inscription. Even otherwise, it deserved an illustrated notice on account of its remarkable calligraphy.

As stated above, the epigraph is engraved in relief on the upper half of the octagonal shaft of the pillar standing at a little distance in front of the middle of the southern wing of the mosque.[1] The text in the main is in Persian, preceded by the *Basmala*, part of a Quranic verse and a Tradition of the Holy Prophet regarding the merits of the construction of a mosque. The historical portion which follows clearly states that the construction of the mosque was ordered by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq and the work was supervised by the emperor's brother and his Deputy Chief Usher (*Nā'ib-i-Bārbak-i Sulṭān*) Ibrāhīm who took great pains in having the work completed. The mosque was completed in the month of Dhū'l-Qa'da 761 (September-October 1360). The text bestows great encomium, through lavish epithets and phrases, on both the king as well as his Nā'ib-i-Bārbak. These epithets and phrases are found almost totally discarded in the Sultanate inscriptions, after the early Mamlūk period. This is perhaps the only one, out of a number of epigraphs, of this monarch, in which these lofty titles are found used. It may be noted that the epigraph, which is otherwise liberal in investing the king with high-sounding titles and epithets does not quote his regal title but gives, as in the case of his other records, only his *kunya* Abū'l-Muẓaffar and name. His coin-legends also do not contain the regal title. While the absence of the regal title from coins and inscriptions is rather inexplicable, it is obvious that the monarch was not keen on its usage.[2]

The epigraph is also remarkable for its artistic calligraphy. While the script as such which is *Naskh* is not perfect or graceful as far as smoothness and flow of curves and strokes are concerned, the designer has sought to impart artistic forms and ornamental flourishes to some letters and has also arranged them in a decorative way, at times in utter disregard of the rules of ligature or joining of one letter to the other. It is not possible nor perhaps necessary to detail these forms and flourishes, a reproduction thereof being before the readers (pl. III, b), but attention in particular may be drawn to: the design and placing of the letter *nūn* throughout; the letters *ala* in the words *al-anām* and *al-ayyām* (line 5, Segment 3rd from left)—giving an appearance of a *torana;* the design of *a's-Salām* (line 2, Segment 3rd, from left) and *basāl* (line 6, Segment 2nd from left); the arrangement reminiscent of the bow-and-arrow variety of Bengal inscriptions (line 5, Segment 1st from right); the arrangement of horizontal and vertical strokes intersecting at right angles (line 6, Segment 1st from right); the floral-like design of the word *'ālam* (Line 3, Segment 3rd from left); the arrangement of vertical and oblique strokes (line 4, Segment 3rd from left); etc. In short, the designer has taken resort to a variety of intricate forms and arrangements in designing this inscription.

It is perhaps this intricate and somewhat complicated *Ṭughrā*-like writing, more than the fact that its letters are affected due to constant exposure to heat and rain, which is responsible for the incorrect published readings of the epigraph, particularly in regard to the date as also concerning the builder, as pointed out in the preceding lines. The writing is badly damaged in Segments 3 from right, each, in lines 2 and 3.

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[1] *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 581.

[2] The only inscription of Fīrūz Shāh which very probably contained his regal title was found at Sirsi in Morādābād district of Uttar Pradesh. But being fragmentary, the main word in the title is lost. The extant text has the incomplete title. . . .*nu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn* preceding the king's name (*ibid.*, 1972-73, No. D, 277).

The text[1] covering a total space of about 1.56 by 1 metre has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate III (b)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الاخر وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنے مسجدا لله تعالے

(٢) اعطاه الله تعالے بيتا (؟) بكل شبر وكل ذرع ....پس بحكم فرمان كلام ملک علام وحديث رسول ثقلين عليه السلام كه‌در باب عمارت مساجد وارد (؟) شده است وباميد حصول ترقى

(٣) جنان وبتمناى وصول نجات ابدان وروضه رضوان امر فرمود بجهت (؟) عمارت اين مسجد اعلى وجناب معلى سلطان سلاطين عالم شهريار عادل اعظم مالک رقاب الامم مولى ملوک العرب والعجم

(٤) مظهر كلمة الله العليا المتمسک بالعروة الوثقے الناصر لدين الله الحافظ لبلاد الله الحامى لعباد الله ذوالامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملک سليمان الواثق بتائيد الرحمن

(٥) ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه وبرادر ملک ملوک الشرق والصين لسان السلاطين ناصر لغزواة الموحدين عمدة الانام عدة الايام سپهكش زمان تهمتن گيهان الغ

(٦) اعظم ابراهيم نايب باربک سلطان يديم الله معاليه بشرف كار فرمائے اين مقام اطاعت مشرف گشت اين ملک نيكوسيرت صافى اعتقاد با تمام اين بنا [ع] خير جهد تمام مبذول فرمود بماه ذوالقعده بسال هفصد شست يک از هجرت رسول صلى الله عليه وسلم تمام شد

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'Only he shall visit the mosques of Allāh who believes in Allāh and the Final Day (i. e. Day of Judgment)'.[2] And the Prophet of Allāh, may Allāh's peace and salutations be upon him, has said, "One who builds a mosque for the Exalted Allāh,

(2) the Exalted Allāh grants him, in proportion to every span and cubit..................... .... wherefore, in accordance with the mandate of the Word of the Omniscient Lord (i.e. the *Qur'ān*) and the saying of the Prophet of the created beings, may peace be on him, which have been uttered in respect of the construction of mosques and in the hope of obtaining ascendancy

(3) to heavens and in the aspiration of the acquisition of eternal salvation and garden of Riḍwān (the Keeper of Paradise), order was given for the construction of this lofty mosque and exalted threshold by the Sulṭān of the Sulṭāns of the world, the just and the most magnificent monarch, master of the neck of nations, master of the princes of Arabia and Persia,

(4) manifestor of the highest word of Allāh, one who holds fast the firmest handle (i.e. the True Faith), the helper of the religion of Allāh, the protector of the countries of Allāh, the defender of the servants of Allāh, the bestower of safety on the believers, the heir to the kingdom of Solomon, the reliant on the support of the Compassionate (Allāh),

[1] I have refrained from quoting the misreadings in the text published by Maulavī Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn (*op. cit.*), as there are no less than thirty-eight misreadings of words or phrases. Maulavī Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn does not specify the source of his reading. As such, it is presumed that the reading is his. Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, quotes it *verbatim* (less misprints) on the authority of Maulavī Khairu'd-Dīn Muḥammad's *Jaunpūr Nāma.*

[2] *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, part of verse 18.

(5) Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Fīrūz Sh̲āh the Sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and (his) brother, Malik-i-Mulūki'sh̲-Sh̲arq wa's-Ṣīn (lit. the prince of the princes of the East and China), the tongue (i.e. spokesman) of the Sulṭāns, the helper in the religious wars of the Unitarians (those who believe in One Allāh), the best of the mankind, mole (on the face) of the Time, the General of the Age, the Commander of the world, the great (Ulug̲h̲),

(6) the grand (A'ẓam), Ibrāhīm, the Nā'ib-i-Bārbak-i-Sulṭān[1] (the Deputy Chief Usher of the Sulṭān), may Allāh perpetuate his eminences, was honoured with the distinction of the superintendence of this place of worship. (And) this prince of praiseworthy nature and pure faith, extended all (possible) efforts in the completion of this bountiful edifice. It was completed in the month of D̲h̲ū'l-Qa'da in the year seven hundred and sixty-one from the Migration of the Prophet, may Allāh's peace and salutations be upon him! (D̲h̲ū'l-Qa'da 761 = September-October 1360).

From the above contents of the epigraph, it is clear that the mosque was built in A.H. 761 (1360 A.D.) by the order of Fīrūz Sh̲āh through the efforts and under the superintendence of Malik Ibrāhīm Nā'ib-i-Bārbak. It has nothing to do with K̲h̲wāja Jahān Sarwar who was appointed to the governorship of Jaunpur at a much later date—or with Prince Ibrāhīm (subsequently Sulṭān Ibrāhīm) during the time of the former as has been asserted.[2] It was Malik Ibrāhīm Nā'ib-i-Bārbak who had built the mosque under the orders of his brother Sulṭān Fīrūz Sh̲āh in A.H. 761 (1360 A.D.). The date A.H. 778 read by Blochmann and accepted by Cunningham and Führer is not supported by the facsimile. It is not given in Arabic words *t̲h̲amān wa sab'īn wa sab'amiya* as read by the former, but the year is given in Persian words *hafṣad sh̲ast-yak* which are quite clear on the stone (plate III, b, line 6, Segment 2nd from left, upper portion following the word *basāl-i*). According to Cunningham, in the English translation of K̲h̲airu'd-Dīn Muḥammad's *Jaunpūr Nāma* 'the date of the inscription is assigned to A.H. 798, the author having read tisaīn (sic.)—90, instead of sib'īn (sic.)—70.[3] K̲h̲airu'd-Dīn Muḥammad's reading is totally wrong and Cunningham's explanation for the wrong reading was merely prompted by Blochmann's reading of the date.

In short, the date of the mosque is not four decades later than that quoted by Führer and other English writers, as strongly asserted by Maulavī Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn and therefore, the contention that the date of the mosque 'does not synchronise with the date of the construction of the (Jaunpur) Fort' is also based on fallacy. The mosque, completed in A.H. 761 (1360 A.D.), must have been built about the same time as the Fort which is generally believed to have been founded by Fīrūz Sh̲āh some time in A.H. 761 (1360-61 A.D.). As a matter of fact, the inscription under study indirectly furnishes important evidence for fixing the date of the foundation of the fort on one hand, and on the other it shows that the mosque was among the very first buildings, and perhaps the first one, to be built at the new fort-site. Very likely, the construction of the mosque and the fort was in progress simultaneously.

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[1] Blochmann, *op. cit.* and Führer, *op. cit.* (*Sharqī Architecture*) have translated this as 'Naib Barbak, the king'. Maulavī Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-08, having first misread the designation as *Naib-i-Atabak-i-Azam Sultanush-Sharq* and then translated it as 'the Lieutenant of Atabak-azam Sultanush-Sharq' ascribes the epigraph, which according to him is dated A.H. 801, to the time of Sultanush-Sharq Khwaja Sarwar Jahan (sic.). Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, blindly follows him.

[2] Maulavī Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 23, who also places the assumption of the titles 'Sultanush-Sharq and Atabak Azam (Emperor the Great)' in 796 A.H.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 24. Führer and other English writers give A.H. 778 which is not four decades earlier than A.H. 801 as read by Maulavī Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn.

DAHOD INSCRIPTION OF MAHMUD BEGDA

BY DR. Z. A. DESĀI

This fragmentary inscription of 'considerable historical interest', was published by Khwāja Muḥammad Aḥmad in a previous issue of this Series,[1] from the estampages of an inscription which had come to light in May 1926 in the course of excavations by the local Municipality of a mound near the tank locally called Chhābā-Talāv at Dāhod, sometimes spelt Dohad, a Tālukā headquarters in the Panchmahāls district of Gujarāt, wellknown in history as the birth-place of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb.[2] The inscribed slab bearing an Arabic record of nine lines was found buried to a depth of about three metres from the ground level when the western side of the road leading to the Railway Station and forming the eastern bank of the tank was being dug up.[3]

Chhābā-Talāv or Basket Pond is an extensive lake covering an area of about six acres or 2.4 hectares. Part of the old town, it will be seen by the visitor to the left of the entrance gateway on the west end of the town, as he enters it, coming from the district headquaters Godhrā. The tank, said to have been dug by men of the Oḍ caste about the same time as the Oḍvāḍā lake near Godhrā, is one of the finest pieces of water in the district and is surrounded by a flight of stone steps with strong retaining end-walls and a waste-water sluice. In the lake are two islands where towards the close of the eighteenth century, pleasure-houses were built by a Marāṭhā official. The present town is of two parts, the old town being in the west and the new, built mostly during the last century, adjacent to it on the east. Near the lake were reported the traces of an old gateway and a line of walls running south to the river. No trace of the gateway is now reported to exist.[4]

According to the text published by Mr. Aḥmad, the record referred to the completion of a city near Dāhod (Dohad) by Maḥmūd Shāh, a fact not mentioned by contemporary historians.[5] However, there is a slight error in the purport as given in this published version as will be pointed out in the following lines.

The inscriptional tablet was stated to be 'much mutilated', but the portion 'which is intact' was then deciphered by Mr. Aḥmad.[6] But the published notice is silent as to where the surviving inscribed tablet was kept. When, however, in 1968-69, Dāhod was visited by Shri M. F. Khān, then Epigraphical Assistant and now Deputy Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nāgpur, for copying Arabic and Persian inscriptions there, the portion of the tablet in question was found lying loose in the mosque locally called

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[1] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1925-26, pp. 20-21, pl. IX b.

[2] For the history of the town, its antiquities and inscriptions, see *Bombay Gazetteer* (*BG*), vol. III, Kaira and Panchmahals (Bombay, 1879), pp. 310-13; *Gujarat State Gazetteers*, Panchmahals District (Ahmadābād, 1972), pp. 776-78; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1968-69, Nos. D, 210-212.

[3] *EIM*, 1925-26, p. 20, f.n. 3.

[4] For details, see *BG*, p. 311.

[5] *EIM*, 1925-26, p. 21.

[6] This statement is rather vague. It is not clear from it as to whether the much mutilated tablet was whole or not. In any case, it would have been better if the concerned portion was at least illustrated to give a proper idea thereof.

PLATE III

SULTANATE RECORD FROM GUJARĀT

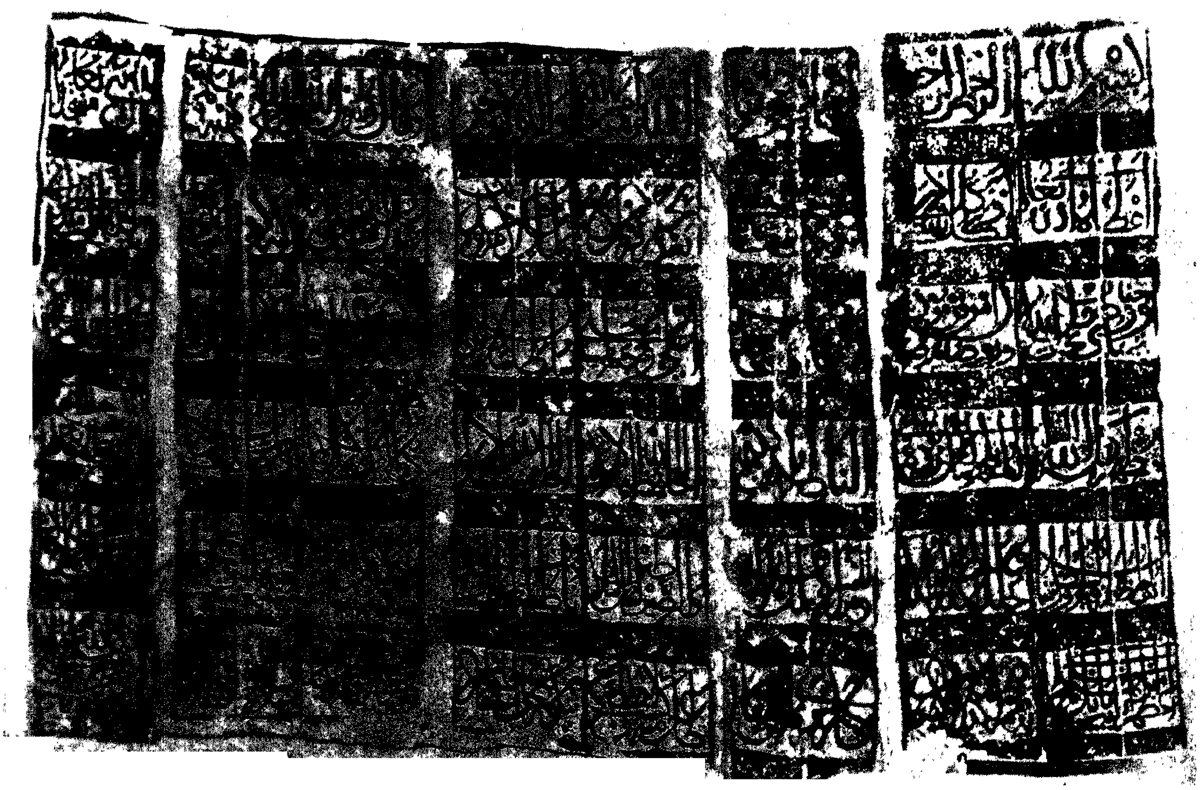
(*a*) Inscription of Maḥmūd S͟hāh I, dated A.H. 893 (p. 27)



SCALE: .15

TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTION FROM JAUNPUR

(*b*) Inscription of Fīrūz S͟hāh, dated A.H. 761 (p. 24)



Ghaznī-Masjid, situated in the bazār locality of the city.[1] One more tiny fragment was then found there, supplying, in addition to the remaining portion of the date, interesting information about the name of the city, either Dāhod itself or a satellite town in its immediate neighbourhood, the foundation of which forms the subject-matter of the epigraph. Part of the epigraph is still missing as will be seen from the text cited below. From the illustration of the inscription on the large fragment, published by Mr. Aḥmad and also from that of the newly found piece, it would appear that the epigraphical slab was not mutilated at all: on the contrary, the writing is in quite a good state of preservation. Very probably, in the digging operations, the slab had broken into not less than three pieces, of which two are now available, while the remaining could not be traced. The missing portion, apart from referring to the object of the construction, contained the name of a highly placed noble. The extant Arabic epigraph is being published here and attempt made to determine and identify the builder as also to establish beyond reasonable doubt, the object of construction.

The inscription consisted of nine lines of writing. Its calligraphy is *Naskh* of no particular merit, unlike in the majority of the Gujarāt Sultanate inscriptions. The language is Arabic with Persian phrases thrown in between here and there, particularly in the beginning. The missing portion of the text in the first line, contained very probably a reference to the object of construction preceded by a Quranic verse also lost, which, if it had survived would have at least provided a clue to it. Then followed the particulars of the nobleman, evidently a minister: these are lost, but his identity has been more or less fairly satisfactorily ascertained as will be seen later. Then follows a reference to the reign of the ruling monarch Maḥmūd Shāh whose full title, patronym (*kunya*) and name along with part of the complete pedigree have survived. Fortunately, the extant text gives the exact purport of the record, referring as it does, to the 'completion of this fine city' in A.H. 893 (1487-88 A.D.). The text also contained the name of the newly founded city as is seen from the newly discovered fragment, which, however, contains only part of it as also the word indicating the century of the date of the record which is given both in words and figure. It may be recalled that this is one of the very few early Perso-Arabic epigraphs of India in which the date is given in figure.

The epigraphical tablet must have originally measured 95 by 60 cm. The text as found on the two surviving fragments has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate III (a)

(١) قال الله تعالى ....

(٢) ظهور دولت حضرة باد[شاه] ....

(٣) آصف سليمان ستوده ملک عا [لی]..

(٤) المخاطب من حضرت السلطان الموصوف بما[ک الشرق ملک ؟] ....[ادام الله ؟]

(٥) معاليه فی جلوس سلطان الاعظم مالک الر[قاب الامم صاحب العربو]

(٦) العجم السلطان ناصر الدنیای[2] و الدين ابو الفتح محمود شاه ابن [محمد شاه ابن احمد]

(٧) شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه [و سلطانه و]

(٨) عظمته الى يوم الدين تم هذ البلدة الطيبة الم[سما]ة بمحمود[نگر (؟)]

(٩) سنه ٨٩٣ فی شهور سنة ثلث و تسعين و ثمان ماية الهجرية

[1] *ARIE*, 1968-69, No. D, 211. Efforts were subsequently made in vain to find out if there was any more fragment lying in the mosque.

[2] So on the stone. In the new impression, it has not come out, but see *EIM*, 1925-26, pl. IX b.

TRANSLATION

(1) The Exalted Allāh says..

(2) manifestation of the reign of His Majesty the king...

(3) Āṣaf[1] praised by Solomon, the Malik of lofty..

(4) entitled from the Royal Presence (and) known as Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik........... may Allāh perpetuate

(5) his glories, in the reign (lit. accession) of the greatest Sulṭān, master of the necks (of people), Lord of Arabia and

(6) other Islamic countries ('Ajam), the Sulṭān, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Helper of the State and the Religion) Abū'l-Fatḥ (lit.Father of Victory) Maḥmūd Shāh son of (Muḥammad Shāh son of Aḥmad)

(7) Shāh son of Muḥammad Shāh son of Muẓaffar Shāh the Sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and

(8) grandeur till the Day of Judgment.

This fine city named Maḥmūd(nagar?) was completed in the months of the year three and ninety and eight hundred from the Migration. Year (A.H.) 893 (1487-88 A.D.).

The important discovery of the new fragment furnishes the name by which the newly built city was intended to be known. The second part of the name which began with Maḥmūd is no doubt missing. It could be either Maḥmūdābād or Maḥmūdnagar. Since the Sulṭān had already built the city of Maḥmūdābād near Aḥmadābād and there was one more so named in north Gujarāt, it is not unlikely that the new town was designated Maḥmūdnagar. As already pointed out by Mr. Aḥmad, contemporary (or for that matter later) historians do not mention the fact that a city was built near (or at) Dāhod either by Maḥmūd Shāh I or in his reign.[2] It is only through this epigraph that we know for the first time that a city called Maḥmūd (nagar) was built there in 1487-88.

Mr. Aḥmad assigns the foundation of the new city to the Sulṭān, which it will have been observed, is not at all warranted by the text as it has come down to us. On the contrary, from the explicit reference to the reign of the Sulṭān, it is clear that the builder of the city was some other person. In all probability, the new city was built by the nobleman who is figuratively referred to in the text as Āṣaf, the celebrated Prime Minister of Solomon. This high official or Malik who bore the prestigious title Maliku'sh-Sharq was evidently the Prime Minister of the kingdom and therefore his exact title which is lost in the missing portion of the slab must have been 'Imādu'l-Mulk, which as the students of Gujarāt's history are aware, was the highest title among the Gujarāt nobility, usually borne by the king's first minister.

That this person was none other than Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik 'Imādu'l-Mulk is also proved by what is, in all probability, according to me, the Sanskrit counterpart of this epigraph, which is now stored in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. This epigraph consisting of 26 verses inscribed in 22 lines was published with text, full contents and exhaustive notes but without a facsimile a few years after the Arabic record was published in the epi-

[1] Āṣaf was the name of the Prime Minister of Solomon.

[2] This was also the view expressed by Dr. H. D. Sānkaliā in his study of the Sanskrit inscription of the same king from Dāhod itself, which according to me, is a counterpart of the Arabic epigraph under study. For details of the epigraph, see p. 29, *infra*.

graphical journal of the Archaeological Survey of India, viz. *Epigraphia Indica*.[1] But no mention is made therein of the exact locality of Dāhod, from where the tablet bearing the Sanskrit epigraph was recovered. The record describes in some detail the deeds, viz. the wars won and buildings constructed by Maḥmūd and his predecessors[2] and the appointment of 'Imādala' to govern (?) the newly acquired province of Chāmpāner, his conquest of Pallīdēśa and the construction of a fort and excavation of two tanks there, his having caused a well to be dug at Ahammadapura, construction of an excellent fort and an artificial lake at Champakapura, conquest of Bāgūla and Rāyadurga, and probable construction of the beautiful fort at Dadhipadra, that is modern Dāhod on Vaiśākha su. 13, Śaka 1401 and Vikrama 1545 (24th April, 1488). According to Dr. Sānkaliā, it also seems to refer to its repair by Imādala Malika on a particular day, the details of which are obliterated.[3]

The name of this nobleman is variously spelt in the Sanskrit record as Imādala, Imādala Malika, and Imādala Mulaka, which all, Dr. Sānkaliā was convinced, referred to one and the same person. He correctly held that Imadala Malaka etc., stood for 'Imādu'l-Mulk, a designation for the post resembling premiership.[4] He also identified him with Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Baḍh entitled 'Imādu'l-Mulk, though he erred in making him a son of 'Imādu'l-Mulk Ḥājī Sulṭānī.[5] As a matter of fact, Baḍh was one of the four sons of Malik Bahāu'd-Dīn 'Imādu'l-Mulk and had succeeded his father to the title, the post and the fief on the latter's death in about A.H. 885 (1480-81 A.D.).[6]

Thus, the Sanskrit record from Dāhod refers to Malik (Baḍh) 'Imādu'l-Mulk's having either built the fort of that town or repaired it or made a gift in connection thereof. It does not refer to the foundation or building of a new city as such, which is clearly mentioned in the Arabic record under study. That the two epigraphs constitute two versions of the same record is further clear from the date of the record. The date of the Sanskrit epigraph tallies with that of the Arabic inscription. Dr. Sānkaliā even thought that the Sanskrit inscription perhaps bore the date in the Hijra era in the first half of its line 21.[7] Then the Arabic record, as pointed out above, compares the high official whose name is lost with Āṣaf the Prime Minister of the Prophet-king Solomon, clearly implying that he held the rank of a premier under Maḥmūd Shāh. He could therefore be none other than Malik 'Imādu'l-Mulk of the

[1] Dr. H. D. Sānkaliā, 'Dohad Stone Inscription of Mahamuda (Begarha): V.S. 1545, Saka 1410', *Epigraphia Indica*, vol, XXIV (1937-38), pp. 212-25. Dr. Sānkaliā (*ibid.*, p. 213, f.n. 6) knew of the existence of the Arabic epigraph but he did not think the Sanskrit record had any connection with it, very probably as firstly, he was not aware of Mr. Aḥmad's article and secondly, he was misled by the note in H. Hargreaves, Ed. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1927-28 (Calcutta, 1931), p. 146, where the Arabic epigraph was stated to give 'the names of the Sultans of Gujarāt who were associated with the completion of the town of Dohad where it was found'.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 213-18. Dr. Sānkaliā's statement (*ibid.*, p. 214) that the genealogy of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt given in the Sanskrit record differs from that given by the Muslim historians and accepted by the authors of the *Cambridge History of India* in some respects is rather misconceived. The genealogy of this and other inscriptions is that of the pedigree while the one gleaned from historical works represents ruling kings not necessarily strictly in hereditary order of father and son.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Sikandar, *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* (Baroda, 1962), p. 126; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *Ẓafaru'l-Wālih bi-Muẓaffar wa-Ālih* (Arabic History of Gujarat), vol. I (London 1910), pp. 22, 27. Dr. Sānkaliā was misled by the statement in Sir T. W. Haig, Ed. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (London, 1928), p. 309. The error resulted from the wrong indexing in Ḥājjī Dabīr's work (*ibid.*, vol. III, London, 1928, p. LVI), where 'Imādu'l-Mulk Ḥājjī and 'Imādu'l-Mulk Bahāu'd-Dīn have been taken to be one and the same person. The former was killed according to Ḥājjī Dabīr himself (*ibid.*, I, pp. 15, 17), in A.H. 870.

[7] Sānkaliā, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

Sanskrit record. Thus it is proved almost beyond doubt that both the epigraphs are versions of the same record. And since the Arabic epigraph explicitly refers to 'the completion of a fine city', it is clear that Malik 'Imādu'l-Mulk had built a city near or at modern Dāhod. It may have been a fortified or walled city, being the custom to build walled cities in medieval period and that may explain the reference to the building of a fine fort, etc. in the Sanskrit record. A re-examination of the Sanskrit record in the light of the new piece of information furnished by the Arabic inscription is indeed called for.

The Arabic epigraph does not merely record the building of a new city but it also gives the name given to it. The city was designated Mahmūd(nagar). None of the Muslim historians mentions either the building of a new city or any city named Mahmudnagar at or near Dāhod during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh I. The record under study thus gives us a totally new piece of information. As has been shown by me elsewhere,[1] there are at least five more such places which are known through epigraphs—three of them set up in the reign of this Sulṭān himself—to have received new names during the pre-Mughal period. These are Ṭankāriā *alias* Muṣṭafābād in Bharuch (Broach) district of Gujarāt designated as such in an epigraph dated A.H. 857 (1453 A.D.),[2] Diyādar *alias* Maḥmūdābād mentioned in an epigraph from Himmatnagar in Sābar Kānṭhā district of Gujarāt, dated A.H. 875 (1471 A.D.),[3] Sānchor *alias* Muḥammadābād, in an epigraph from Sānchor in Jālor district in Rājasthān, dated A.H. 912 (1506 A.D.),[4] Māliā *alias* Rasūlābād, according to the epigraph the date of which is lost, from Māliā (Miānā) in Rājkoṭ district of Gujarāt[5] and Khākhrechi *alias* Ambiyābād, referred to as such in two epigraphs dated A.H. 930 (1524 A.D.) and A.H. 956 (1549-50 A.D.), from Khākhrechi in the same district.[6] That these names including the one given to the newly founded city mentioned in the record under study did not stick or catch the imagination of the public and fell into oblivion soon is a different matter.

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1974, p. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
[6] *ARIE*, 1979-80, Nos. D, 33-34.

SOME MORE NEW INSCRIPTIONS OF HUSAIN SHAH FROM WEST BENGAL

By S. S. Hussain, Senior Epigraphical Assistant

The six inscriptions of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh of Bengal (1493-1519) proposed to be studied in this article were copied by me in the course of my official visits[1] to different places in West Bengal in 1975 and 1977 and are, with the possible exception of one, new finds. These are one each from Sakulipur and Suri in district Birbhum and one from Rāikhā and three from Suātā in Burdwān district. Of these six records, the one from Suri has been taken to be identical with one published as early as in 1861, but the published text thereof does not appear to be wholly identical with the one of the records under study, which makes the identification somewhat doubtful. The matter could have been clear if its facsimile were also published along with the text. The remaining five inscriptions are new finds and are being published here for the first time.

I-II. INSCRIPTIONS DATED A.H. 902 FROM SUĀTĀ

Both these earliest epigraphs are dated A.H. 902 (1496-97 A.D.). They are engraved on two slabs which are lying loose in the Tomb of Sayyid Shāh Shahīd Maḥmūd Bahmanī at Suātā, a sub-divisional headquarters in the Burdwān District of West Bengāl.[2] The large village which does not find mention in either the district or imperial gazetteers of India, is situated on the Guskara-Bud Bud highway and may be approached by road through a regular bus-service from either place. The tomb of the saint lies on the bank of a tank on the northern extremity of the village. There is a newly constructed mosque within the tomb enclosure.

Nothing is known about the saint from written sources nor does he find mention in the epigraphs; even the period during which he lived could not be ascertained. According to Shri Siddheswar Mukherjee of the village Sreepat Muluk who had reported the existence of three inscriptions at Suātā, the village was once a peaceful abode for the Buddhists and is referred to in the Jātakas as Sutaka which later on was changed first into Sutaya, then into Suyata, which ultimately became Suātā. It is locally believed that when the saint Bahmanī flourished, Suātā was most probably a village of the Buddhists.

The saint came to the village some time before the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, but the construction of the shrine as seen today took place much later.

Bahmanī, a person of a very kind and sympathetic nature, was a scion of the Bahmanī ruling family of Deccan. He came to Bengal and converted the Buddhists of Suātā and neighbouring villages. The Hindu king of Amarargarh, an old village situated about three kilometres from Suātā, could not tolerate this and in the battle between his soldiers and the newly initiated disciples of the Muslim saint, the latter was killed. Bahmanī belonged to the Qādirī

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[1] The tours were prompted by a communication received by the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nāgpur, from Shri Siddheshwar Mukherjee of village Sreepat Muluk near Bolepur in Birbhum District informing him about the presence of inscriptions at Sakulipur and Suātā in Birbhum and Burdwān districts. We are grateful to Shri Mukherjee for the information.—Editor.

[2] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1975-76, Nos. D, 263, 262.

order. When his disciples constructed his tomb, they found the three inscribed slabs on a dilapidated mosque in the dense Sāl forest of the Bahmanī village which they set up on the wall of the shrine.[1]

According to Shri Muḥammad Ayūb Ḥossain, Sāhitya Vinod, of village Rājuā near Kaṭwā, District Burdwān, the saint is mentioned in Sitā Rām Dās' *Dharma Mangal* and *Mānasa Mangal* (1699 A.D.), as having belonged to Valki village situated near Suātā. In the said work, he is called Bambani which is either scribe's error for or a corruption of Bahmanī: *Sangbati Bambanī Banda Valkir Pir Badar Alam Banda Saqare Jahir* (Pray to Valki's Pir Bambani (Bahmanī); pray to Badr 'Ālam who is the lord of the seas, etc.). According to Shri Hossain, one of the three inscriptional tablets was removed from Valki and not from Bahmanī.[2]

All the three epigraphs to be now seen at Suātā contain nothing that would connect them with the saint in any way and as such, the slabs are evidently not *in situ*. During my subsequent tour in March-April 1981, I visited Valki and Bahmanī villages which are situated three and five kilometres respectively from Suātā. At Valki which is also called Bhalki Khairpur, I was shown a ruined mound on which two small round stone pillars are fixed in the ground. From the appearance of the mound and pillars, it does not appear likely that there was a mosque at that place. Hence the presence of a slab at that place would not appear very likely. At Bahmanī, the other village, the actual place of the ruins could not be located due to the thick forest near the village.

The tablet bearing the first epigraph measures 45 by 23 cm. and contains a record of two lines in Arabic, executed in *Naskh* script in the typical, but not the usually fine bow-and-arrow variety for which Bengal is justly famous.[3] The epigraph contains, apart from the Quranic text, the name and titles of 'Alāuu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, without his father's name, and the name of the scribe Qāḍī Mīnāzī; the object of construction is not mentioned. An important aspect of the record is that it gives the name of the scribe. As is wellknown, the Bengal epigraphs in general do not mention the name of the calligraphers, whose penmanship attained great heights, nor do written sources. The epigraph under study is of considerable value as it furnishes for the first time the name of a calligrapher of the time of Ḥusain Shāh. It seems that Qāḍī Mīnāzī, the scribe of the record, was either a court calligrapher or working in the judiciary department on some responsible post as the word Qāḍī indicates.

Another important aspect of the record is its date. This and the next record are the only two records known so far of Ḥusain Shāh which bear the year A.H. 902 (1496-97 A.D.), which is the third or fourth year of his reign.[4] From this it is clear that the dominion of Ḥusain Shāh had extended upto the Dāmodar river in the very third year of his reign.

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[1] Summary from a letter dated the 28th March 1976 addressed to the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nāgpur.

[2] Summary from a letter dated 14-12-1977 addressed to the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nāgpur.

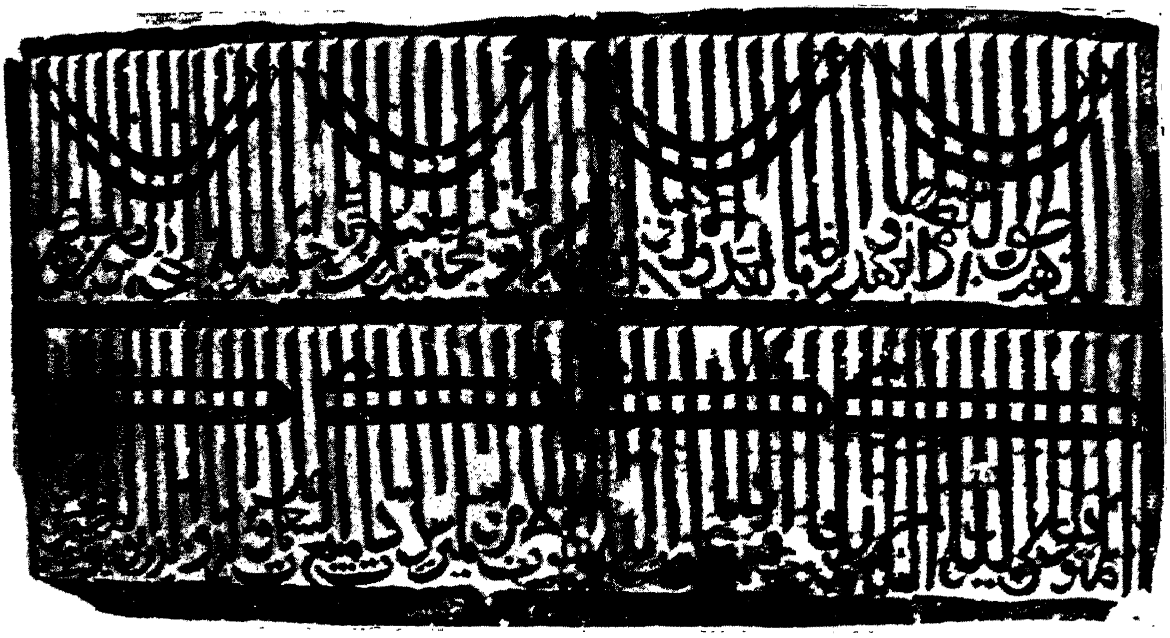
[3] *ARIE*, 1975-76, No. D, 263.

[4] Ḥusain Shāh's inscriptions have been listed in *ARIE*, 1952-53, Nos. C, 12-13, 16; *ibid.*, 1953-54, No. C, 88; *ibid.*, 1955-56, Nos. D, 54, 73, 92; *ibid.*, No. D, 12; *ibid.*, 1958-59, No. D, 25; *ibid.*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 4, 10, 11, 12, 14, 20, 24, 29, 34, 194-95; *ibid.*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 33-35; *ibid.*, 1963-64, Nos. D, 404, 412, 414; *ibid.*, 1970-71, Nos. D, 7-8; *ibid.*, Nos. D, 257, 261, 267; *ibid.*, 1977-78, No. D, 197. His records have been published with detailed notes in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1915-16, pp. 10-14, pls. IV (a) and (b); *ibid.*, 1929-30, p. 12, pl. VIII (b); *ibid.*, 1933-34, pp. 2-3, 5-6, 23, pls. I (b), II (a) and (b), III (a), XI (a); *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*), 1955 and 1956, p. 20, pls. V (c) and (d); *ibid.*, 1961, pp. 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, pls. XII (b), XIII (b), XIV (a), (b) and (c), XV (a), XVI (a); *ibid.*, 1965, pp. 24-26, pls. IX (a, b, c); *ibid.*, 1968, p. 13, pl. III (a).

PLATE IV

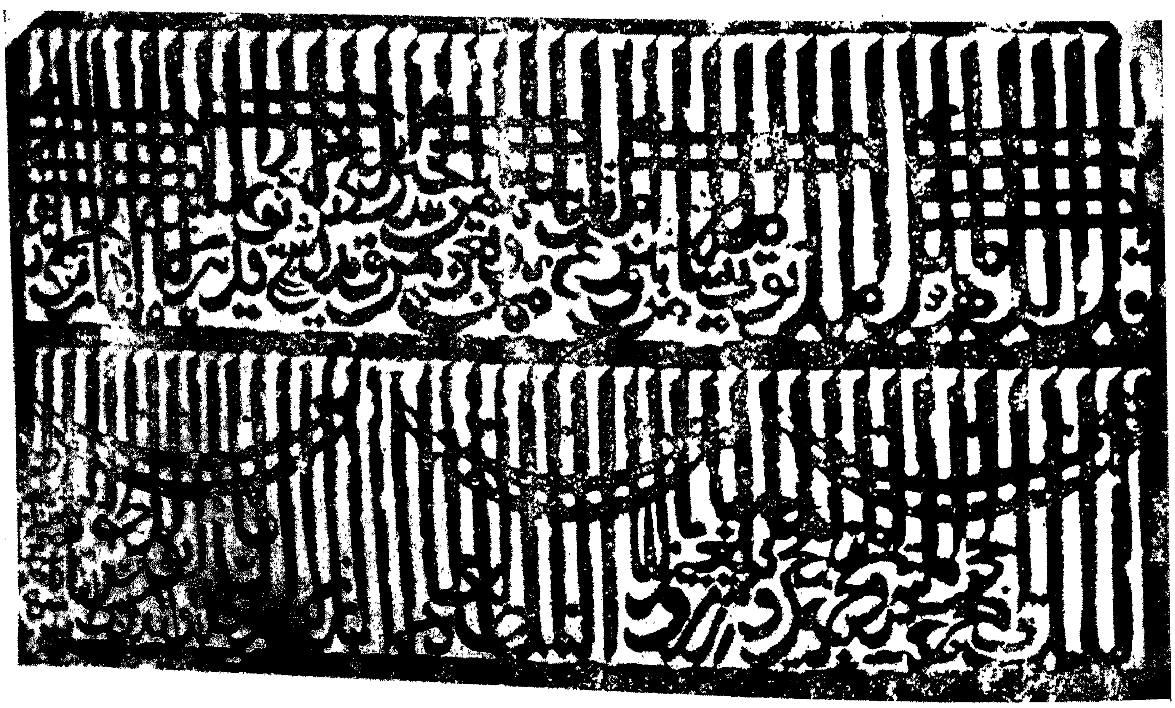
INSCRIPTIONS OF ḤUSAIN SHĀH OF BENGAL

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 902, from Suātā (p. 33)



SCALE: .35

(b) Inscription of the same date, same place (p. 34)



SCALE: .23

The epigraph is not in a very good state of preservation. The writing has lost prominence of relief. Added to it is the rather longish text on a limited lithic surface, resulting in closely-written matter in two lines. In spite of its bad shape and words one upon another, the decipherment of the major portion of the record has not been very difficult, as the text comprised a Quranic text and name and titles of the king. Only, the portion containing the name of the scribe and the date presented some difficulty.[1]

The text of the epigraph has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate IV (a)

(١) قل اللهم مالک الملک توتی الملک من تشاء و تنزع الملک ممن تشاء و تعز من تشاء و تذل من تشاء بیدک الخیر انک علی کل شئی قدیر تولج اللیل فی النهار و تولج النهار فی

(٢) اللیل و تخرج الحی من المیت و تخرج المیت من الحی و ترزق من تشاء بغیر حساب[2] ...السلطان العادل الباذل سید السادات ابو المظفر علاو الدین حسین شاه السلطان کاتبه قاضی میناز [ی]س[نه] اثنا [ن] و تسع ما [ی]ة

TRANSLATION

(1) "Say, 'O Allāh, Master of the kingdom! Thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever Thou pleasest and takest away the kingdom from whomsoever Thou pleasest, and Thou exaltest whom Thou pleasest and abasest whom Thou pleasest; in Thine hand is the good; surely, Thou hast power over all things. Thou makest the night to pass into the day and Thou makest the day to pass into the

(2) night, and Thou bringest forth the living from the dead and Thou bringest forth the dead from the living, and Thou givest sustenance to whom Thou pleasest without measure'."[3] ......The just and generous Sulṭān, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh (lit. Glory of the State and the Religion) the Sulṭān. Its writer is Qāḍī Mīnāz(ī). (In) the year (A.H.) two and nine hundred (A.H. 902=1496-97 A.D.).

The second inscription from Suātā occupying a writing space of 70 by 33 cm. is dated in the same year and penned by the same Qāḍī Mīnāzī.[4] The language of this epigraph is also Arabic and the style of writing *Naskh*. The epigraph simply prays to Allāh to grant long life to the king for whom it uses high titles found in his epigraphs, but in one place, perhaps for the first time here. This is a unique feature of an inscription of Bengal and perhaps of India as a whole that the entire text should be devoted to invocation of the long life for the reigning monarch. The text is otherwise totally silent about the purpose or rather monument for which it was intended.

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[1] I thankfully acknowledge the help received from Dr. Z.A. Desāi, Director (Epigraphy) and Dr. A.A. Kādiri, formerly Senior Epigraphical Assistant, in the decipherment of all the inscriptions studied in this article.

[2] There is a word here which could not be deciphered. It may be some word invoking favour for the king.

[3] *Qur'ān,* Chapter III, verses 25-26.

[4] *ARIE,* 1975-76, No. D, 262.

The reading of the text is as follows:—

TEXT

Plate IV (b)

(۱) [ا]للهم طول العمر ا[ل]سلطان العهد والزمان بالعدل والاحسان المويد بتائيد المنان المجاهد فی سبیل الرحمان خلیفة الله باالحجة و البرهان السلطان

(۲) المتوکل علی الله الفاتح للکامرو و الکامة باعانت الله و غوث الاسلام والمسلمین سید السادات منبع السعادات علاو الدنیا والدین ابو المظفر حسین شاه سلطان خلد ملکه اثنا [ن] و تسعمایة کاتبه قاضی مینازی

TRANSLATION

(1) O Allāh! Prolong the life of the (one who is the) king of the Time and the Age, through justice and bounty, one propped by the support of the obliging Lord, the striver in the path of the Beneficent, the Vicegerent of Allāh by proof and demonstration, the Sulṭān,

(2) the reliant on Allāh, the conqueror of Kāmrū and Kāmta by the help of Allāh and refuge of Islām and the Muslims, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, source of, felicities, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Glory of the State and the Religion) Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Ḥusain Shāh Sulṭān, may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom. (In the year) two and nine hundred (A.H. 902=1496-97 A.D.). Its writer is Qāḍī Mīnāzī.

The discovery of this epigraph having the prestigious title 'conqueror of Kāmrū and Kāmta' and also the date A.H. 902 (1496-97 A.D.) supports Professor M. R. Tarafdār's view that the expedition of Kāmrū and Kāmta started in 1494 A.D.[1] This record also settles the question once for all that the said war was accomplished in 1497 and not 1498 as opined by various historians.[2]

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 908, FROM THE SAME PLACE

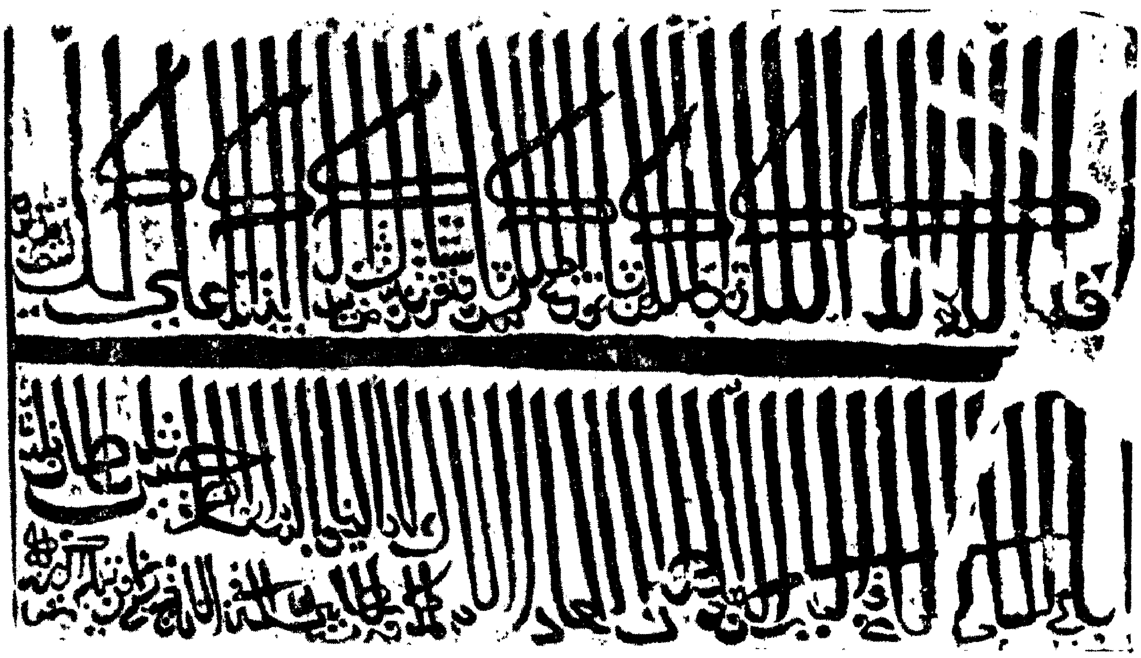
The tablet bearing the third inscription of the present study, also from Suātā, is fixed in the northern wall of the Tomb of the aforementioned Sayyid Shāh Shahīd Maḥmūd Bahmanī.[3] Measuring 60 by 32 cm., it contains a record in two lines and a half in Arabic inscribed in two panels in *Naskh* characters. The text records the construction of the Jāmi' mosque and the lofty gateway by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh in A.H. 908 (1502-03 A.D.). From the contents, it is obvious that the slab does not belong to the Tomb and must have been brought from somewhere else and fixed in its present position. The gateway and the wall, to the construction of which reference is made in the text, must be taken to be parts of the enclosure of the Jāmi' mosque for which the epigraph was intended. It is difficult to determine in what place this complex existed, unless it is the Bahmanī village from which the tablet is locally believed to have been brought and fixed in its present place.

This inscription has also the unusual feature of recording, as in the case of the two inscriptions just studied, the name of the scribe of the record. Unfortunately, due to the scribe, having had to accommodate the comparatively long text in a limited writing space, the reading of his name occurring in the last line may appear a bit difficult at first glance, but on minute

[1] M. R. Tarafdār, *Husain Shahi Bengal 1494-1538 A.D., A socio-political study* (Dacca, 1965), pp. 46, 48.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.46, f.n. 2.
[3] *ARIE*, 1975-76, No. D, 261.

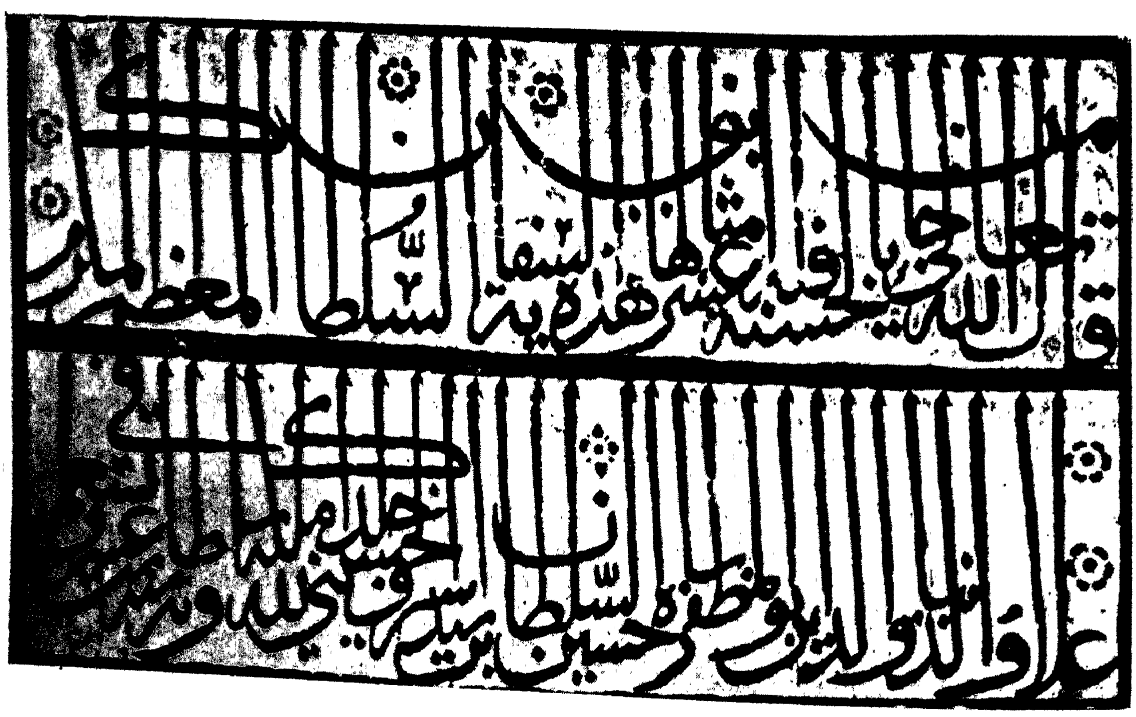
PLATE V

(*a*) Inscription, dated A.H. 908, from Suātā (p. 35)



SCALE: .24

(*b*) Inscription, dated A.H. 916, from Sakulipur (p. 36)



[SCALE: .2

observation the first part of the name, viz. نصر which to a casual observer may look like a decoration-motif becomes clear, while the linear form of the concluding ین is both used for تبه of کتبه, the scribe having placed it after الد and provided dotes of ن as well as یه . There is also some scribbling above the word کتبه in the last line which is undecipherable. It looks like some geometric design. Or very probably, it is an Arabic numeral sign for the date which the scribe may have so designed. As mentioned above, the *Nask͟h* script is of a fair type. The text is accommodated in two horizontal panels. The vertical strokes of the letters of *alifs* and *lāms* in each panel have been raised to the top and arranged parallel to one another, while their curves and other words occupy about one third of the panel. The parallel strokes arranged in four and five groups in the first panel are further crossed by the extended *markaz* of the letter " ک ", thus investing the design with a picturesque effect.

The reading of the text is as under:—

TEXT

Plate V (a)

(۱) قل اللهم مالک الملک توتی الملک من تشا٘ و تنزع الملک ممن تشا٘ و تعز من تشا٘
بیدک الخیر انک علی کل شئی قدیر
(۲) بانی المساجد الجامع و الباب ا لارفع السلطان العادل الباذل علا و الدینا والدین ابو المظفر حسین
شاہ السلطان خلد شانه
ملکه و سلطانه بنی هذالخیر فی التاریخ سنة ثمان و تسعاية کتبة نصر الدین

TRANSLATION

(1) "Say, 'O Allāh, Master of the Kingdom! Thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever Thou pleasest and takest away the kingdom from whomsoever Thou pleasest, and Thou exaltest whom Thou pleasest and abasest whom Thou pleasest; in Thine hand is the good; surely, Thou hast power over all things'."[1]

(2) The builder of the Jāmi' mosque and the lofty gateway is the just and the liberal Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Glory of the State and the Religion) Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Ḥusain S͟hāh, the Sulṭān, may (Allāh) perpetuate his majesty,

kingdom and sovereignty. This good work was built on the date, year (A.H.) eight and nine hundred (A.H. 908=1502-03 A.D.). Written by Naṣru'd-Dīn.

The epigraph furnishes the name of one more scribe. It is also the second inscription of Ḥusain S͟hāh found so far of this year, his other inscription bearing this date, being from Bonhārā in Bihār.[2]

In the above three inscriptions, the names of the scribes have taken very little space on the stone and these are inscribed in such a manner that it is not easily legible, all the more so, if the slabs were fixed at a height as is usually done, on the facade of a mosque or on the gateway. It may perhaps be surmised from this that the name of the scribe was not allowed to be inscribed in line with the name of the ruling monarch or its mention was being discouraged to maintain his dignity or for some other reason.

[1] *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verse 25.

[2] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 16; *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (PASB)*, 1870, p. 297; Dr. A. H. Dānī, *Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal* (Dacca, 1957), p. 49, No. 84; Maulavī S͟hamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. IV (Rajshāhī, 1960), p. 161.

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 916, FROM SAKULIPUR

The information about this inscription was also received from Shri Siddeshwar Mukherjee. It comes from the Jāmi' mosque at Sakulipur, a village in the Suri sub-division of Birbhum district of West Bengal. The inscribed slab is fixed in the projected portion of the western wall near the southern doorway leading to the tank.[1] The language of the record is Arabic.

Consisting of two lines of writing executed in excellent *Thulth*, on a slab of black basalt measuring 73 by 39 cm., the epigraph is identical in text as well as calligraphy with the one published in a previous issue of this series.[2] It records the excavation of a water-tank carried out under the orders of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh in A.H. 916 (1510-11 A.D.). I could not collect any information regarding its original location from the local people. But most probably the slab belongs to this village because of the presence of a big tank there, and the record refers to the construction of one. This is the fourth[3] epigraph to come to light recording the excavation of a water-tank in this particular year, which may perhaps be taken to support the surmise made earlier in a previous issue of this Series that while this may be just a coincidence, at the same time it is possible that the building activity during this year was accentuated by factors like drought.[4]

TEXT

Plate V(b)

(۱) قال الله تعالى من جآء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنى هذه السقاية السلطان المعظم المكرم

(۲) علاو ا لدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنة ست عشر و تسعماية

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh the Exalted says, 'Whoever brings a good deed, he shall have ten like it'.[5] This tank was caused to be excavated by the illustrious and the honoured Sulṭān

(2) 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Glory of the State and the Religion) Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Ḥusain Shāh, the Sulṭān, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Ḥusainī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year (A.H.) sixteen and nine hundred (A.H. 916=1510-11 A.D.).

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 922, FROM SURI

The fifth inscription of Ḥusain Shāh comes from Suri, headquarters of the Birbhum District, where it occurs on the southern face of the southern-most pillar facing the courtyard of the Kachhery Masjid.[6] The information about this inscription was given to me by Mr. 'Abdu'l-Ḥalīm, Deputy Assistant Inspector of Schools, Sadar, West Circle, Suri, when I visited the place in December 1977. Mr. 'Abdu'l-Ḥalīm accompanied me to the mosque in question

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[1] *ARIE*, 1975-76, No. D, 257.

[2] *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 20, pl. V (d).

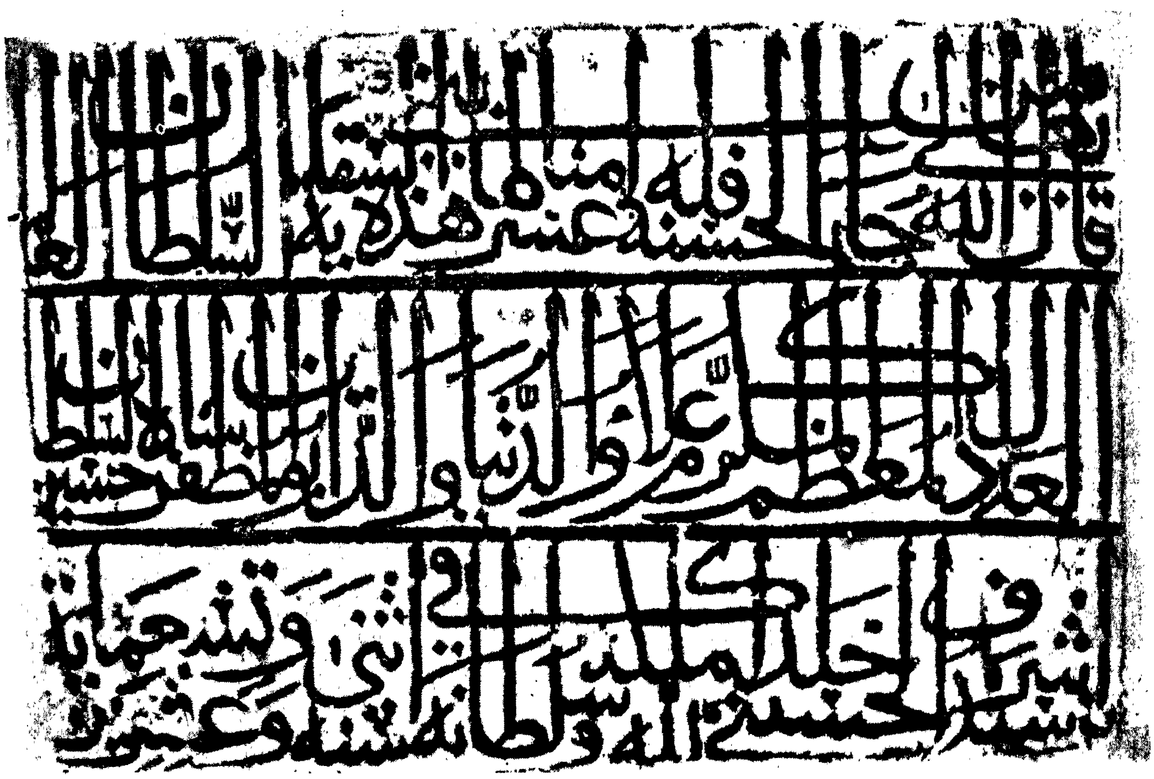
[3] The other three were published in *EIM*, 1933-34, p. 3, pl. II (a); *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 20, pl. V (c) & (d); Shamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[4] *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 20-21.

[5] *Qur'ān*, Chapter VI, part of verse 161.

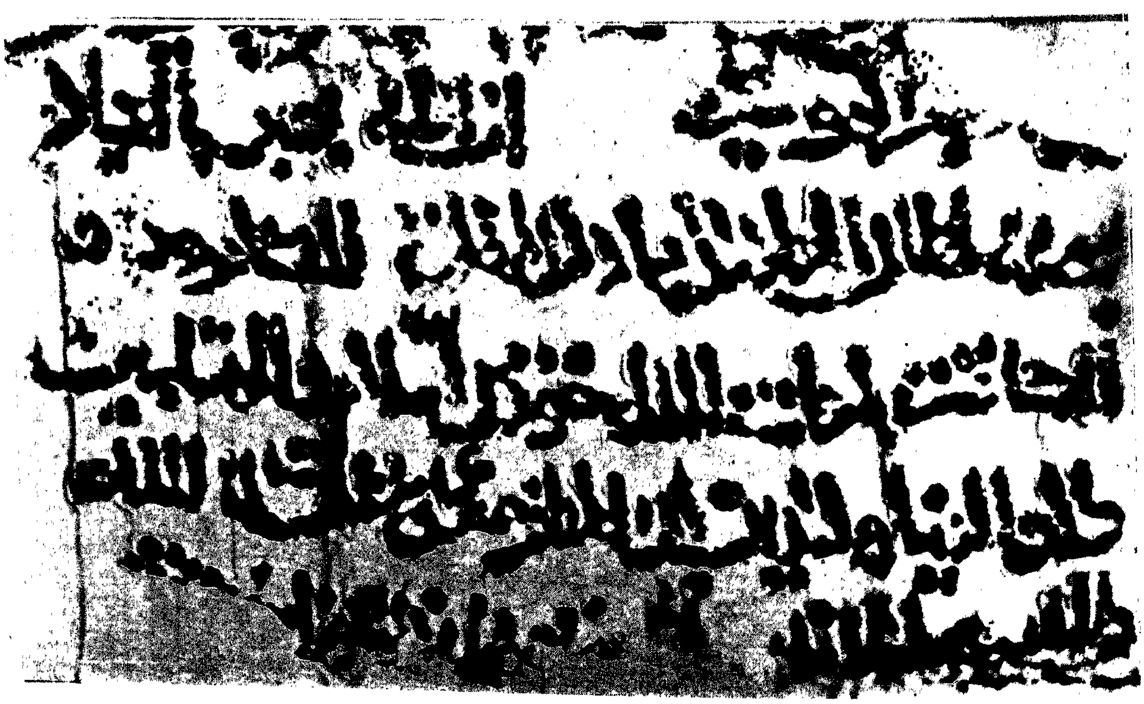
[6] *ARIE*, 1977-78, No. D, 197.

(*a*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 922, from Suri (p. 37)



SCALE: .33

(*b*) Epigraph, from Rāikhā (p. 38)



SCALE: .42

s also to nearby villages in search of inscriptions. I am very much thankful to him for his ıelp.

The inscriptional slab which measures 45 by 29 cm. contains three lines of writing in Arabic executed in *Thulth* script of a fairly good type. The text records the construction of a tank by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh in A.H. 922 (1516-17 A.D.).

Its text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VI (a)

(١) قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثاله بنى هذه السقاية السلطان العالم

(٢) العادل المعظم المكرم علاو الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان

(٣) بن سيد اشرف الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانة فى سنة اثنى و عشرين و تسعماية

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh the Exalted says, 'Whoever brings a good deed, he shall have ten like it'.[1] This tank was caused to be excavated by the Sulṭān, the learned,

(2) the just, the illustrious, the respected 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Glory of the State and the Religion) Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Ḥusain Shāh, the Sulṭān or

(3) son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Ḥusainī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year (A.H.) two and twenty and nine hundred (A.H. 922=1516-17 A.D.).

Due to almost complete similarity in text including the date, this inscription was taken to be probably identical with the one published earlier, without an illustration.[2] Its original findspot is stated to have been a ruined mosque on the old Bādshāhī road, which is also called Gaur-Bādshāhī road, on the south-eastern extremity of the district.[3] While comparing our record with the reading of the published text, I found a slight difference which confirms my doubt that our record is not the same as the published one. In the latter, there occurs the phrase in the middle above the main text, while in our record the phrase is absent and the top is marked by a clear border line above the main text.[4]

VI. INSCRIPTION FROM RĀIKHĀ

The last inscription of Ḥusain Shāh was discovered by me from Rāikhā, a village in the Kaṭwā sub-division of Burdwān district. This large village is situated on the old Bādshāhī road and can be approached from Kurmaḍāngā halt on the Ahmadpur-Kaṭwā (Narrow Guage) section of the Eastern Railway from where it is hardly four kilometres away to the south. The

[1] *Qur'ān*, Chapter VI, part of verse 161.

[2] *ARIE*, 1977-78, No. D, 197 and Introduction.

[3] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB)*, vol. XXX (1861), pp. 389-90. See also *PASB*, 1890, p. 243, where it is reported that 'the inscription had originally no connection with the mosque and was said to have lain for many years in the Collectorate (at Suri) before it was made over to the builder of the mosque and placed by him upon it. The inscription was dated 922 A.H. (1516) and related to the famous Hosain Shah of Gaur. Possibly it was the same inscription as that described in our Journal, XXX, 389-90'.

[4] From the statement of the *PASB, loc. cit.*, it would appear that the epigraphical tablet originally found at or near a ruined mosque on the old Bādshāhī Road passing through the district, was removed at a later date, not much after, perhaps, it was first noticed in *JASB, loc. cit.*, to the Collectorate at Suri, and lay there before it was made over to the builder of the mosque on which it appears now, in or before 1890.

place seems to be quite important from the point of archaeology as carved pillars, lintels, etc., are found lying scattered here and there; a huge stone carved with some figure was also found lying on a mound.

The slab containing the inscription under study is lying loose in the courtyard of a newly constructed mosque called Talābwālī-Masjid.[1] Fragmentary and much damaged, it does not appear to be *in situ*. It contains about five lines of writing in Arabic written in ordinary *Naskh*. The extant portion of the record contains the name of Abū'l-Muẓaffar Ḥusain Shāh Sulṭān preceded by his titles including that of the 'conqueror of Kāmrū and Kāmta'. The date and other particulars, like the object of construction, the name of the builder, if any, etc., are lost. The epigraph is rather unique in that its calligraphy is unlike the typical ornamental *Ṭughrā* of Bengal epigraphs; it is just plain *Naskh*.

The text of the epigraph occupies a writing space of 36 by 20 cm. and reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

(۱)................................ان الله بصیر بالعباد

(۲) بعہد سلطان العادل الباذل الفاتح للکامرو و

(۳) الکامۃ باعانت الله غوث ا لاسلام و المسلمین

(۴) علاو ا لدینا وا لدین ابو المظفرحسین شاه سلطان خلدالله

(۵) ملکه و سلطانه...............................

TRANSLATION

(1) '..Surely, Allāh sees the servants.'[2]

(2) In the reign of the just and the generous Sulṭān, the conqueror of Kāmrū and

(3) Kāmta with the aid of Allāh, the refuge of Islām and the Muslims,

(4) 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Glory of the State and Religion) Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Ḥusain Shāh Sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his

(5) kingdom and sovereignty..

[1] *ARIE*, 1975-76, No. D, 264.

[2] *Qur'ān*, Chapter XL, part of verse 44.

A NEW EPIGRAPH OF MALIK QUTBUL-MULK FROM ANDHRA PRADESH

BY N. M. GANAM

SUPERINTENDING EPIGRAPHIST

In March 1974, a rubbing of an interesting inscription from Rājupeṭā[1] in Nālgoṇḍā district of Andhra Pradesh was received in the office of the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nāgpur, from the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. It was reported that the stone pillar bearing the record is set up on the tank-bund a little away from the village which is situated about fifteen kilometres to the south-west of the district headquarters. I have selected this epigraph for study at the suggestion of Dr. Z. A. Desāi, Director (Epigraphy) and editor of this journal who also made valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article. I am grateful to him.

The epigraph[2] is incised on the entire face of the pillar measuring 130 by 44 cms. The text consists of thirty lines of writing executed in *Naskh*, of which the first three and a half are in Arabic. A Persian quatrain (*Rubā'ī*) is inscribed diagonally in four lines at the bottom. In between is the historical text. Telugu words *Shri Kavi* are found superscribed in the beginning. On another pillar at the same tank-bund is inscribed the Telugu epigraph, the gist of which will be described later.

The Perso-Arabic epigraph records the construction of a tank in the village Yampur in A.H. 935 (1529 A.D.) during the time of His Highness Masnad-i-'Ālī and Manṣab-i-Ma'ālī Ulugh A'ẓam Malik Quṭbu'l-Mulk by Bābā Khān, a retainer of His Excellency, the greatest of the Maliks, Malik Qiwāmu'l-Mulk. It further states that the builder had sought assistance from his fellow-officials and got issued a fresh guarantee (*Qaul*) to the effect that of the crop grown in the neighbourhood of the tank to be divided into four shares, one share would go to the State (*Dīwān*), two would be for the general public and the fourth one would accrue to the builder who had taken pains in the matter and spent personal money over it. This own share of his, the builder dedicated, the text further declares, to the *Langar* (Free-Kitchen) of the Twelve Imāms. The epigraph also states that the builder had obtained on free lease that much land below the tank in which five *kuro*[3] seeds could be sown, with the avowed intention that the produce therefrom would be utilised for the repairs of the bridge i.e. the tank-bund. The epigraph ends with a request to the future possessors or managers of the tank to abide by and observe the terms of the agreement and invoke prayers for the mercy of God and His Prophet on them and their descendants to the seventh degree. The benediction is followed by imprecatory phrases inviting God's curse, etc. on the defaulters. It also invokes prayers soliciting God's forgiveness for his sins and acceptance of his devotion on one, who like the striver, carries out the terms of the endowment.

[1] Rājpet of the Survey of India Map, situated in 16°55′ Lat. and 79°20′ Long.

[2] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1973-74, No. D, 1.

[3] *Kuro* is a Bangālī word used for a measure of land. One *Kuro* is equivalent to a *bīgha* (H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, Delhi, 1968, p. 303).

TEXT

Plate II (*b*)

(*a*)

(۱) یا فتاح
(۲) بنا الحوض موضع یمپور بعون الملک وهاب فی ست عشر
(۳) من شهر شعبان المعظم سنه خمس ثلاثین و تسعمایه هجرة سید
(۴) المرسلین صلعم و اله اجمعین در عهد حضرة خداوند
(۵) مسند عالی و منصب معالی الغ اعظم ملک قطب الملک خلد
(٦) دولته متعلق بندگان خداوند اعظم الملوک ملک
(۷) قوام الملک مد عمره بابا خان قیام نموده از مصاحبان استعانت
(۸) طلبیده قول تازه مهیا گردانیده که در سواد
(۹) حوض مذکور هرچه فصل شود از چهار حصه
(۱۰) یکحصه برای دیوان و دو حصه برای رعیة و
(۱۱) حصه چهارمی برای این کمینه که درین باب جهد
(۱۲) و مشقت کرده مبلغے از خاصهٔ خود خرج نموده
(۱۳) انرا برای لنگر حضرة اثنی عشر ائمه علیهم افضل
(۱۴) الصلوة والسلام نذر کرده و نیز در تحت
(۱۵) حوض مذکور تخم پنج کرو زمین در هر فصلے
(۱٦) انعام خواسة بصدق دل عزم جزم اورده که
(۱۷) حاصل این هرچه باشد هر سالی برای مرمت پل خرج گردد
(۱۸) التماس از صاحب دلان که الی یومنا هذا تا یوم القیامة
(۱۹) حوض مذکور در تصرف هرکس که باشد همه برین
(۲۰) دستور روان دارند رحمة خدای و رسول و ائمه
(۲۱) بر ایشان و بر هفت پشت ایشان باد والا هرکس که درین باب
(۲۲) تصرف کند و حق بمستحق نرساند در لعنت خدای
(۲۳) و رسول و خلق باشد و روسیاه هر دو جهان گردد
(۲۴) و از تمتع عمر بر نخورد و هیچ مراد او برنیاید
(۲۵) حق سبحانه و تعالی توفیق بخشد آنکس راکه چنانچه این کمینه
(۲٦) حصه و زمین نذر و نیت کرده است همچنان روان دارد
(۲۷) طاعتش مقبول و گناهش
(۲۸) مغفور گرداند
(۲۹) آمین یا رب العا
(۳۰) لمین

(*b*) *Written diagonally, below* (*a*)

(۱) میکن تو بنائے خیر در هر گوشه
اینست سر انجام جهان را توشه
(۲) هر تخم که در عالم فانی کاری
زین تخم در انجهان برا ری خوشه

TRANSLATION

(*a*)

(1) O Opener!

(2) The tank of the village Yampūr was constructed with the help of the charitable Lord (i.e. Allāh) on the sixteenth

(3) of the month of the magnificent Sha'bān in the year five (and) thirty and nine hundred (from the) Migration of the leader

(4) of the Messengers (i.e. Prophet Muḥammad) may Allāh's blessing and salutations be upon him and all his descendants (16 Sha'bān 935=25 April 1529), during the time of His Highness the Master,

(5) Masnad-i-'Ālī (lit. Lofty-Throne) and Manṣab-i-Ma'ālī (lit. Exalted Rank), Ulugh A'ẓam Malik Quṭbu'l-Mulk, may remain forever

(6) his government, by the attached retainer of His Excellency, the lord, greatest of the nobles, Malik

(7) Qiwāmu'l-Mulk (lit. Prop of the Kingdom), may (Allāh) prolong his life, namely Bābā Khān, having prepared himself (and) having sought help from the colleagues or fellow-officials,

(8) (and) having arranged for a fresh (letter of) Guarantee (*Qaul*) that in the vicinity of the

(9) said tank, whatever crop is grown, of the four shares (made thereof),

(10) one share will go to the State (*Dīwān*) and two shares will be used for the ryot and

(11) the fourth share will be for (the use of) this humble (person) who has in this matter, striven (and taken)

(12) pains (and) spent (considerable) amount from his personal money (over the construction (and) this (share)

(13-14) he has dedicated for the *Langar* (Free-Kitchen) of His Holiness the Twelve Imāms, may the choicest of the salutations and peace be upon them; and also, below the

(15-16) said tank, having obtained on freehold lease, that much land in which five *Kuro* seeds could be sown in every annual crop, he has made a firm resolve with sincerity of purpose that

(17) the produce of this, whatever it be, will be spent every year for the repairs of the bridge (i.e. the tank-bund).

(18) A request to men of magnanimity is that from this day to the day of Resurrection,

(19-20) in whosoever's possession (or management) the said tank may be, they should continue it all in this fashion. The mercy of God and the Prophet and Imāms,

(21) may be upon them and upon their seven generations. And if otherwise, anybody who in this matter,

(22) misappropriates (funds) and does not give the due to the deserving, in the curse of God

(23) and the Prophet and the Mankind he will be and he will be disgraced (lit. become black-faced) in both the worlds,

(24) and will not enjoy the fruit from the happiness of life and none of his wishes will be fulfilled.

(25) May the Glorious and the Exalted God shower grace and guidance on that person who will, just as this humble creature

(26) has dedicated and endowed the share and the land, will also continue in the same way.

(27-28) May (God) accept his devotion and pardon his sins!

(29-30) Amen! O Nourisher of the worlds!

(*b*)

(1) Build (lit. Do) bountiful edifices in every corner. This is (the real) provision for the end of the world (i.e. for the death).

(2) Every seed which you sow in the perishable world, you will grow a cluster of corn from that seed in that (i.e. the other) world.

The gist of the Telugu record is as follows[1]:—

"It states that a certain Bābājā, the servant of Keman-maluka who was the son-in-law of Masanadayeli Kutubana-maluka-voḍaya and who was ruling from Nallagoṇḍa, the capital of Eruva (country) got a tank excavated in accordance with the following stipulations as permitted by Kamana-malaka:

To the king (*divāṇam*): 1 Share
To the *Kāṁpus:* 3 Shares

However, since Bābājā spent his own money also for excavating the tank, 1 share was given to him while the *kapus'* shares were reduced to two.

Of the land which is irrigated by the waters of this tank yĕndum (i.e. 5 *tūmers*) of paddy land (*vaḍlapolam*) is converted into *Ināṁ*. The annual produce of this field is to be utilised for maintaining the tank-bund. The share of the tank (i.e. probably the share of Bābājā) is granted by him (i.e. Bābājā) for maintaining a Choultry (*anna-satram*)."

This extremely interesting record is important in more than one respect: Firstly it is one of the few records so far known of Malik Quṭbu'l-Mulk, the founder of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty of Golkoṇḍā.[2] Like his other epigraphs known so far, it does not invest him with regal titles, providing one more evidence for the fact, conclusively proved by the late-lamented Professor Hārūn Khān Sherwānī,[3] that Malik Quṭbu'l-Mulk did not formally declare his kingship or assume royal titles even though he ruled quite independently, but contented himself with the titles conferred upon him by his master Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bahmanī.[4]

Secondly, the inscription has preserved the name of a nobleman namely Qiwāmu'l-Mulk. We know two persons bearing the names Qiwāmu'l-Mulk; one Qiwāmu'l-Mulk Senior and the other Qiwāmu'l-Mulk Junior. Both were Bahmanī officials who played important roles during the reign of Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad III (1463-1482) and Shihābu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh (1482-1518). Qiwāmu'l-Mulk Senior was killed in the factional wars between the Āfāqīs (Foreign Immigrants) and the *Dakhanīs* (Natives) which took place at the capital soon after

[1] The gist of the Telugu record was supplied to me on request by Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, to whom I am indebted.

[2] For his other records, see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1913-14, p. 48, pl. XIX (b); *ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 27, pl. V (a); *Epigraphia Indica Arabic & Persian Supplement*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 23-29, pls. IX (a) and VII (b); *ibid.*, 1959 and 1960, pp. 57-58, pl. XV.

[3] Professor H. K. Sherwānī, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty* (New Delhi, 1974), pp. 14-17.

[4] Even in his epitaph (*EIM*, 1915-16, p. 27, pl. V a), he is merely designated as Baṛe Malik.

the accession of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh in 1482 A.D.[1] Qiwāmu'l-Mulk Junior had his fief in Rājahmundry. He had resisted from the beginning Sulṭān Qulī's claim over the eastern Telangānā and had even extended his activities by laying waste the northern parts of Telangānā. Quṭbu'l-Mulk thereupon marched against him and defeated him. Qiwāmu'l-Mulk fled to Berār, where he took refuge with 'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Imādu'l-Mulk.[2] This was in 1504. We do not hear anything about him thereafter.

None of these two is identical with Malik Qiwāmu'l-Mulk of our record which is dated A.H. 935 (1529 A.D.) and which speaks of him in such glowing terms as His Excellency, the Lord, the greatest of the nobles. In all probability, therefore, our Qiwāmu'l-Mulk is a different person.

But the Telugu counterpart of this epigraph[3] which was set up in Śāka 1451 Virodhi, Vaiśākh bā. 3 Monday (1529 A.D., April), a gist of which has been given above, furnishes an additional piece of information, namely that Qiwāmu'l-Mulk was the son-in-law of Masnad-i-'Ālī Quṭbu'l-Mulk and was stationed at Nalgonḍā. This is quite an interesting information. The epigraph is thus an important document in the sense that it has preserved the name of a Quṭb Shāhi official not otherwise known and also furnishes an information about his relationship with the progenitor of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty. It is rather surprising that though he was so closely related to Quṭbu'l-Mulk, he does not find mention in historical works of the period. That he held a high post at the Quṭb Shāhī court and held fief in the Nalagonḍā region is evident.

As regards Bābā Khān, the builder of the tank, he is not traceable from available records. The epigraph refers to him as an employee of Qiwāmu'l-Mulk which means that he was an official appointed by Qiwāmu'l-Mulk and was connected with the local administration.

The epigraph also furnishes an interesting piece of information that the ancient name of Rājupeṭā was Yampūr. The epigraphical tablet is *in situ* and therefore it is clear that the village Yampūr where the tank was constructed and which is now known as Rājupeṭā was originally known by the name Yampūr.

The record under study also throws light on the irrigational facilities available in those days. Not less interesting is the pattern of distribution of the proceeds of the land cultivated through this irrigation. The produce was equally shared by the ryot on one hand and the State and the builder on the other. The ryot claimed half the produce and the remaining half was equally shared by the government and the builder. The Telugu version specifies this division of shares. It states that the proceeds are allowed to be divided between the government and the subjects in the proportion of one to three respectively; but since Bābā Khān, the builder of the tank, had spent his own money for excavating the tank, one share was given to him consequent upon which, the share of the subjects was reduced to two. The builder on his part dedicated his own share, the income of which, he used for the benefit of public by establishing charitable institution like Free-Kitchen (*Langar*) or Choultry (*annasatram*) of the Telugu version. He had also provided for the regular upkeep and repair of the tank-bund, by obtaining on freehold lease, some land below the tank and endowing the income from it for the purpose. The term '*Pul*' used in the Persian text literary means 'bridge' but here it is obviously used for the 'tank-bund' as is explicitly stated in the Telugu version.

[1] Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. I (Kānpur 1884), p. 363. The two Qiwāmu'l-Mulks being Turks represented the Āfāqī Group in the court.

[2] Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 24; *C. P. District Gazetteers, Amraoti District* (Bombay, 1911), pp. 64-65.

[3] *ARIE*, 1973-74, No. B, 17.

SOME MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM KANNAUJ

By M. I. Quddusi
Epigraphical Assistant

In this article I propose to study ten Mug͟hal inscriptions from Kannauj, District Farrukhābād, Uttar Pradesh.[1] These epigraphs range in their dates from A.H. 1054 (1644 A.D.) to A.H. 1088 (1677-78 A.D.). The texts of these inscriptions were first published more than a century ago and later on too,[2] but their readings are faulty and in some cases even incomplete and confused. A proper study of these epigraphs, it is hoped, will be quite useful for the scholars and students interested in the history of the region.

Kannauj is an ancient city situated in 27°3′ North Latitude and 79°59′ East Longitude, on the old cliff, three kilometres from the Grand Trunk road, at a distance of about 52 kilometres to the south-east of Fatḥgaṛh. The boundaries of the modern town, a mere northern fraction of the ancient city, may be roughly described as triangular.[3]

Early in the Christian era, about 140, Ptolemy refers to the town as Kanogiza. It became part and parcel of the Gupta empire in the time of Samudra Gupta, in *circa* 326-36. The Chinese Pilgrims Fa-Hian and Hu Hiuen Tsiang who visited India during the 5th and the 7th century respectively, have described the town and its neighbourhood.

Under Harshavardhana (606-647), Kannauj grew into the foremost city of India. Regularly mentioned by the Arab travellers of the 10th century, Kannauj remained in the forefront of power till 950, and continued to be the most influential centre of culture till 1018, when it was destroyed by Maḥmūd of G͟hazna. Almost two centuries later in 1194, Muḥammad bin Sām defeated Rāja Jai Chand, the last Gahaḍvāla king, putting to an end the great kingdom of Kannauj.

Under the Muslims, though Kannauj became the seat of a governor, it lost its old importance. For some years in the 15th century, it was under the S͟harqīs of Jaunpur. A few inscriptions of this dynasty from here have been noticed.[4] It was near here that the Mug͟hal emperor Humāyūn was defeated by S͟her S͟hāh Sūr in 1540. Under Akbar, it was the headquarters of a *Sarkār*. During the 18th century, it some time belonged to the Nawwābs of Farruk͟hābād, again to the Nawwābs of Oudh and at times to the Marāṭhās.[5]

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[1] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1963-64, Nos. D, 334-38, 340-43, 348.

[2] Thomas William Beale, *Miftāḥu't-Tawārīk͟h* (Kānpur, 1867), pp. 250-51, 268, 280; Anwār Ḥusain, *Guldasta-i-Qannauj* (Urdū, 1871), pp. 111-14; Maulavī Sa'īd Anṣārī, 'Āt͟hār-i-Qannauj', *Ma'ārif*, vol. XI, No. 1, January, 1923, pp. 45-49 (who, while describing the remains of the town says that he could not decipher the texts of the inscriptions fixed at the tombs of S͟haik͟h Kabīr Bālāpīr and his son S͟haik͟h Muḥammad Mahdī which form the subject-matter of the present article); Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *Qāmūsu'l-Mas͟hāhīr*, vol. II (Badāyūn, 1926), p. 151.

[3] *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces* (*UDG*), vol. IX, Farrukhabad (Allāhābād, 1911), p. 217, where also (p. 224), details of the legendary account of the foundation of the town will be found. A Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allāhābād, 1891, Reprint Vārāṇasī, 1969), pp. 78-79; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (*IG*), vol. XIV (Oxford, 1908), p. 370.

[4] *ARIE*, 1963-64, Nos. D, 321, 329; *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*PASB*). 1873, p. 201.

[5] For details, see A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. I (Simlā, 1871), pp. 279-80; Führer, *op. cit.* UDG, Farrukhabad, pp. 119-20; S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, vol. I (1969), p. XLII; *IG*, pp. 370-71; Firis͟hta, *Tārīk͟h-i-Firis͟hta* (Kānpur, 1884), p. 31; R. C. Majumdār, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's History and Culture of the Indian People, vol. IV, *The Age of Imperial Kannauj* (Bombay, 1955), p. 38.

However, Kannauj seems to have come under the spiritual influence of Islām, even prior to the Muslim invasion. Bābā Ḥājī Sharīf is believed to have been the first Muslim saint who came to Kannauj and died there. His tomb is traditionally believed to be the oldest among the Muslim monuments,[1] which include the tombs of Shaikh Kabīr Bālāpīr and his son Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī who flourished during the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb respectively. Among contemporary historians, only Khwāja Ni'matu'llāh Hirawī the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī wa Makhzan-i-Afghānī* supplies sufficient details not only about these two saints but also about their ancestors and their progeny.[2] Shaikh Qāsim Qādirī, father of Shaikh Kabīr, was an important figure during the reigns of Mughal emperor, Akbar and Jahāngīr.

The earliest inscription of the present group is fixed above the doorway of the Tomb of Shaikh Kabīr Bālāpīr.[3] There are in all five inscriptions on this door, three above the entrance and two on the sides.[4] The inscription being studied below is the middle of the upper epigraphs.

The Tomb of the saint, built during the reign of Shāh Jahān, stands on a raised Chabūtara inside a spacious walled enclosure. It is constructed of red sandstone. On the same Chabūtara stands the Tomb of the saint's son Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī. It is similar in design to the former's tomb and was constructed during the reign of Aurangzeb.[5] Both the Tombs are almost identical structures except for the size, the one on the western side being larger. Both are square halls surmounted by flattish domes rising from octagonal bases. Each has at its four corners light cupolas supported by slender pillars. Despite their plainness, the tombs present a striking view on account of their graceful proportions.[6]

Shaikh Kabīr popularly known as Bālāpīr was born on 4th Shawwāl 994 (8th September 1586) at Budni.[7] He was the son of Shaikh Qāsim Qādirī (d. 1607) who lies buried at Chunār, in Mirzāpur district of Uttar Pradesh.[8] Shaikh Qāsim himself was born in A.H. 956 (1549 A.D.).[9] Of his four wives were born eight sons and nine daughters. He led a pious life and was revered as a saintly person. He was also the tutor of Dilair Khān and Bahādur Khān, sons of the Afghān chief Daryā Khān Rohīla. He expired in A.H. 1016 (1607 A.D.).[10]

The inscriptional tablet measuring 92 by 54 cm. is inscribed with five lines in Persian prose and verse executed in *Nasta'līq* characters of a fairly good type. As a result of the weathering of the slab, letters have flaked off in a few places. Referring to the reign of the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān, the epigraph eulogises the saint, namely His Holiness Shaikh

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[1] Sa'īd Anṣārī, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[2] Khwāja Ni'matu'llāh, *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī wa Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, vol. II (Dacca, 1962), pp. 844-70.

[3] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 335.

[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. D, 335-39.

[5] For a brief description of the Tombs and their illustration, see *Annual Report, Archaeologidal Survey of India*, 1929-30, p. 7, pl. II.

[6] *UDG*, Farrukhabad, p. 222; Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[7] Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 852.

[8] The Tomb of Shāh Qāsim is at Chunār. Situated in the south-west corner of the town, it is reported to be a building of considerable architectural pretensions (Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 259). In T. W. Beale, *op. cit.* p. 204 and *PASB*, 1873, p. 202, the last resting place of the saint is called Chandālgarh. It seems that both the authors have confused Chandālgaṛh with Chunārgaṛh. It may be noted that Beale in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (Calcutta, 1881), p. 137, has Chunār only. See also Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

For a detailed account of his life and that of his descendants, see Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, pp. 851-53: Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 259; *IG*, p. 334; *UDG*, vol. XXVII, Mirzapur (Allāhābād, 1911), pp. 309-11; etc.

[9] Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 851, f.n. 3.

[10] For details, see Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, pp. 851-53.

Kabīr Bālāpīr son of His Holiness Shaikh Qāsim Qādirī and states that he died on the 12th Ramaḍān 1054 (2nd November 1644).[1]

The text of the epigraph is deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VII (*a*)

(۱) [2]هو

(۲) [3]ت[ار]یخ وف[ات] حضرت شیخ کبیر بالا پیر بن حضرت قاسم قادری [4]قدس اسرارهم

(۳) شده [5]ز هجر نبی یک [6]هزار و [7]پنجه [8][وچا]ر

[د] وشنبه و [9]ده و دو [10]بوده ازمه رمضان

(۴) که پیر کامل و قطب زمانه شیخ کبیر

س[پهر] علم و عمل بحر دانش و عرفان

(۵) [11]بگفة داعی حق را اجابت لبیک

روانه[12] کرده رو[ا]ن را بروضئه رضوان

TRANSLATION

(1) He is (Allāh)!

(2) The date of the death of His Holiness Shaikh Kabīr (*alias*) Bālāpīr son of His Holiness Qāsim Qādirī, may their secrets be sanctified.

(3) One thousand and fifty and four (years) had passed from the Migration of the Prophet (and) it was Monday the twelfth of the month of Ramaḍān,

(4) when the perfect spiritual guide and the Pole-star of the Time, Shaikh Kabīr the Sphere of Knowledge and Action, Ocean of Wisdom and Gnosticism

(5) responded to the call of the beckoner of Truth by saying 'I come' and despatched his soul to the garden of Riḍwān (the Keeper of Paradise).

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[1] Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 852, gives the date correctly. But Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), p. 204, wrongly has 4th November, though he gives the Hijra date correctly. *PASB*, 1873, p. 202, wrongly quotes the Hijra date as 10th Ramaḍān. Führer, *op. cit.*, incorrectly gives the year A.H. 1076 (1665 A.D.).

[2] Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), p. 250, Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, p. 112, and Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 151, omit this word.

[3] The entire second line is omitted in Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.* and Niẓāmī Badāyūnī. *op. cit.*

[4] Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), omits this phrase.

[5] *Ibid.* and Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, read هجری .

[6] Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), and Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, read سال .

[7] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.* has پنج .

[8] *Ibid.* omits.

[9] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, reads دوازده .

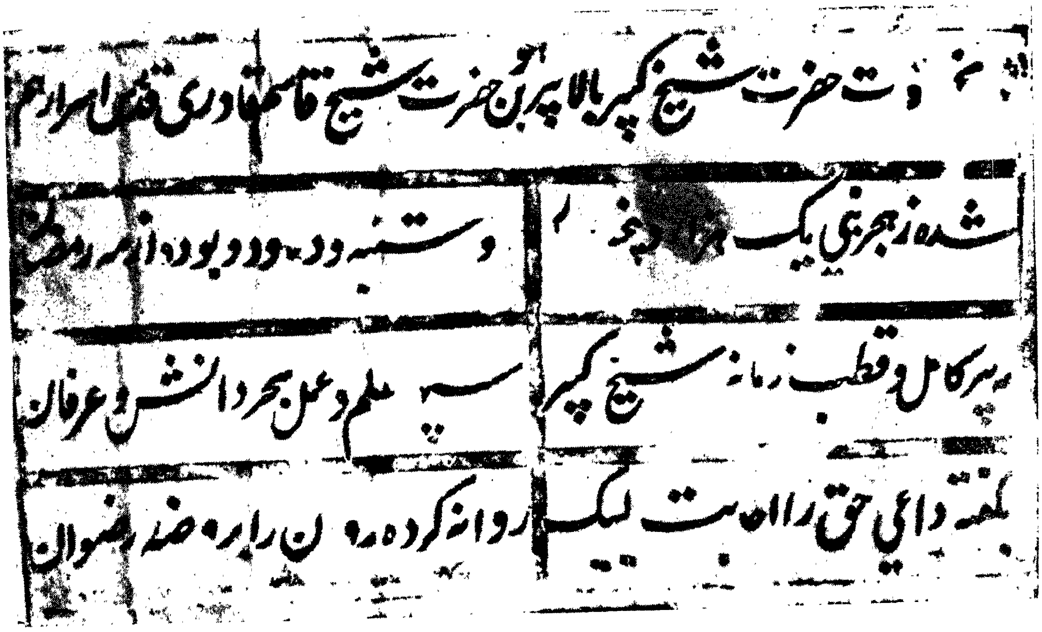
[10] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*) and Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, read بود .

[11] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*) and Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, read بگفت .

[12] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*) and Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, read کرد .

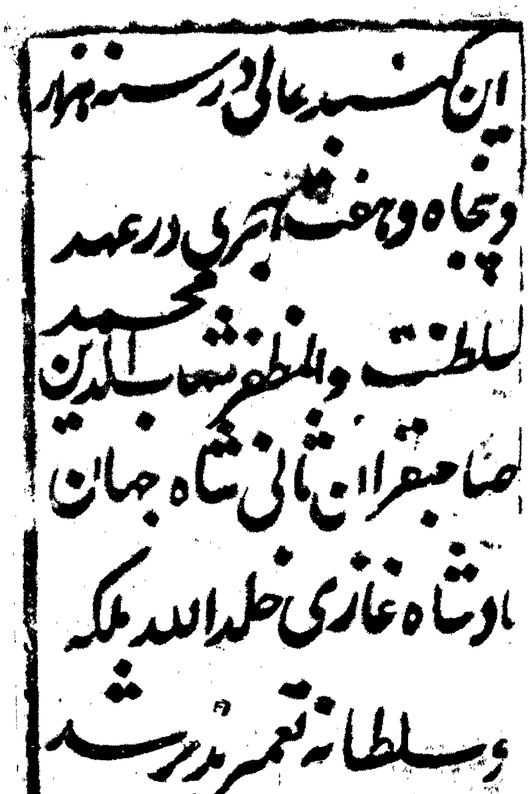
MUGHAL RECORDS FROM KANNAUJ

(*a*) Epitaph, dated A.H. 1054 (p. 46)

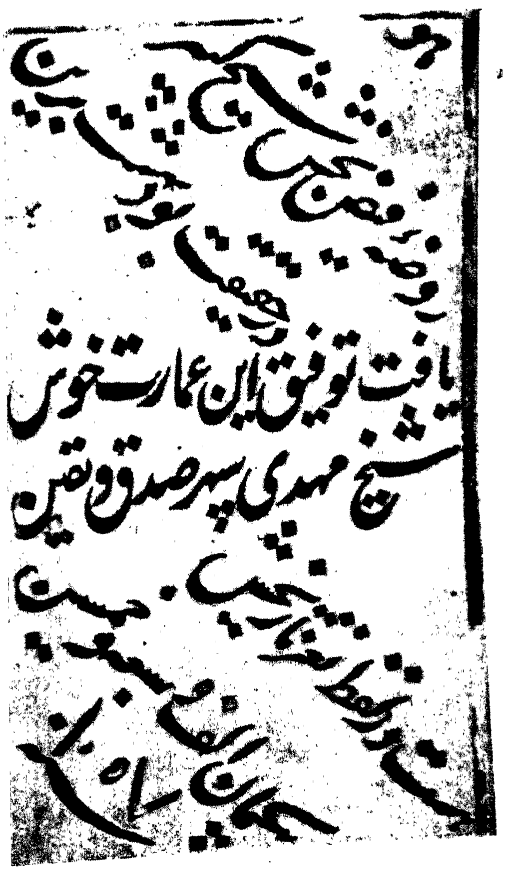


SCALE: .16

(*b*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1057 (p. 47)



(*c*) Inscription, dated A.H. 1057 (p. 47)



SCALE: .24

The second inscription occurs on the same doorway, to the right of the one just studied.[1] It records the construction of the lofty tomb of Shaikh Kabīr Bālāpīr during the reign of Shāh Jahān in the year A.H. 1057 (1647-48 A.D.).[2] Its language is Persian and the style of writing, excellent *Nastā'līq*. Comprising six lines of writing inscribed on a slab measuring 32 by 50 cm., the text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate VII (*b*)

(۱) این گنبد عالی در[3] سنه هزار

(۲) و پنجاه [4]و هفت هجری در عهد

(۳) سلطنت ا[ب]و المظفر شهاب الدین محمد

(۴) صاحبقران ثانی شاه جهان

(۵) بادشاه غازی خلد الله ملکه

(٦) و سلطانه تعمیر پذیر شد

TRANSLATION

(1) This lofty tomb (lit. dome) in the year (one) thousand

(2) and fifty and seven Hijrī (A.H. 1057=1647 A.D.), in the period of

(3) the reign of Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Shihābu'd-Dīn (lit. Shining Star of the Religion) Muḥammad

(4) *Ṣāḥib-i-Qirān-i-Thānī* (Second Lord of Happy Conjunction) Shāh Jahān

(5) Bādshāh Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom

(6) and sovereignty, received completion.

The third epigraph is to be found on the extreme left of the same doorway of the Tomb of Shaikh Kabīr.[5] It records the construction of the tomb by Shaikh Mahdī who is described as the sphere of Truth and Certainty (i. e. saintliness), in A.H. 1057 (1647-48 A.D.).[6] The date is given in a chronogram, in words and in figure.

The epigraph comprises three Persian couplets inscribed in six lines preceded and followed by one more containing respectively a mention of the Almighty and the date in figure. The first and the last three lines are written slantingly. The style of writing is fairly good *Nasta'līq*.

The epigraphical tablet measures 51 by 31 cm. and the text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VII (*c*)

(۱) هو[7]

(۲) روضه فیض بخش شیخ کبیر

(۳) در حقیقت بود بهشت برین

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[1] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 336. Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, does not give the reading of this inscription.

[2] *UDG*, Farrukhabad, p. 222, gives 1666 as the date of construction.

[3] Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 151, gives figure of the date as well, which is not to be found on the stone.

[4] *Ibid.* omits.

[5] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 337.

[6] *UDG*, Farrukhabad, p. 222, wrongly mentions the year 1666. As a matter of fact, it was the gate leading to the Tomb which was built in 1665-66 A.D. (A.H. 1076), as recorded in the epigraph on the entrance of the Tomb-enclosure (p. 50, *infra*).

[7] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, p. 112, Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), p. 251 an Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 151, omit.

(۴) یافت توفیق این عمارت خوش

(۵) شیخ مهدی سپهر صدق و یقین

(٦) هست در لفظ نغز تاریخش

(۷) بیگمان الف و سبعه و خمسین

(۸) سنه[1] ۱۰۵۷

TRANSLATION

(1) He is (Allāh)!

(2) The bounty-imparting tomb of Shaikh Kabīr

(3) is in reality the highest Paradise.

(4-5) The firmament of Truth and Certainty (i. e. the saintly) Shaikh Mahdī received divine guidance for (the construction of) this pleasant structure.

(6) Its date is (contained) in the word *Naghz*[2] (lit. excellent).

(7) Without doubt (it is) thousand and seven and fifty.

(8) (A.H.) 1057 (1665-66 A.D.).

Shaikh Mahdī, we know, was the son of the saint Shaikh Kabīr.

The fourth inscription, fixed to the right of the door of the Tomb of Shaikh Kabīr,[3] is complementary to the epigraph just studied (No. 3). It assigns the construction of the lofty tomb to the time of the great Nawwāb Bahādur *Khān* son of Daryā *Khān* Afghān Ghoriya Khail Dā'ūdza'ī. This would mean that the tomb was built by Shaikh Mahdī during the time of Nawwāb Bahādur Khān in the year A.H. 1057 (1647-48 A.D.).

The epigraphical tablet measuring 35 by 50 cm. contains five lines of writing in Persian executed in fair *Nasta'līq* calligraphy. The writing is slightly damaged.

The text has been read as under[4]:—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(۱) این گنبد عالی در زمان

(۲) دولت [نو]اب معلی القاب

(۳) بهادر [خا]ن بن دریا خان

(۴) افغان غوریه خیل

(۵) داودز[ی][5] [صو]رت پذیرفت

TRANSLATION

(1) This lofty tomb, during the time of

(2) the government of the Nawwāb of exalted titles

(3) Bahādur Khān son of Daryā Khān

[1] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.* and Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, omit.

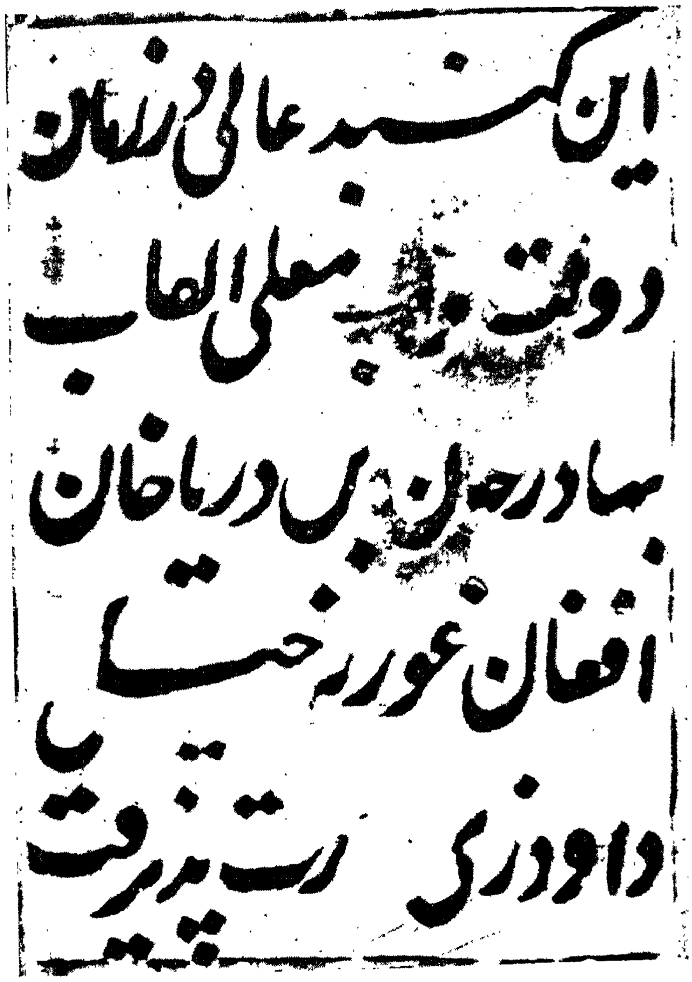
[2] The numerical value of the three letters of this word yields 1057.

[3] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 338.

[4] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, does not quote the text.

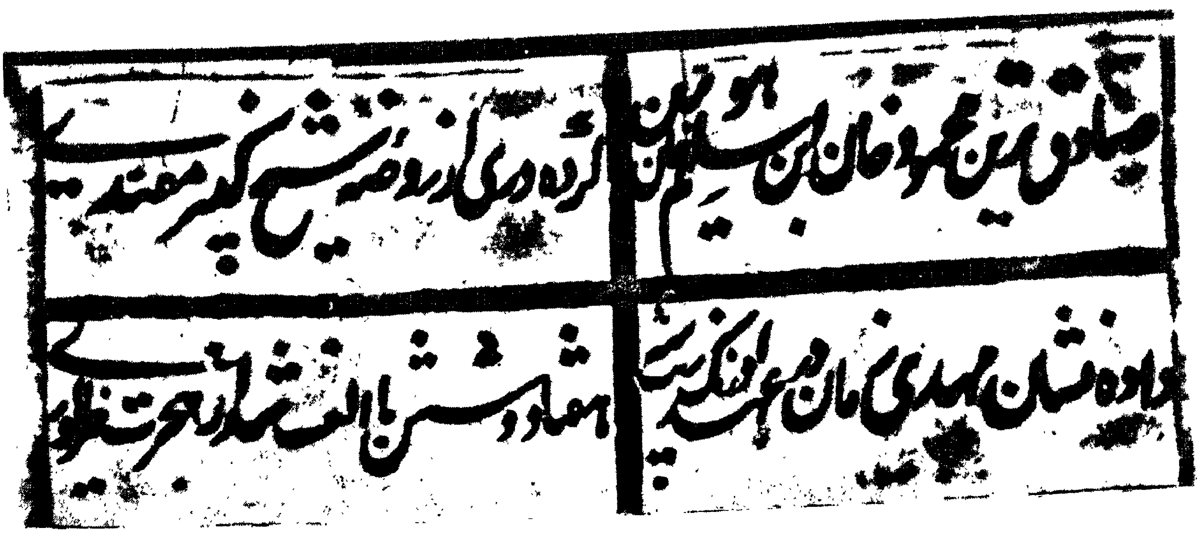
[5] Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), p. 250 and Niẓāmī Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 151, read عمارت ,

(*a*) Undated record (p. 48)



SCALE: .24

(*b*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1076 (p. 50)



SCALE: .22

(4) Afghān Ghoriya Khail
(5) Dā'ūdza'ī, received outward form.

Nawwāb Bahādur Khān during whose governorship the tomb of Shaikh Kabīr is stated to have been built is a well-known historical figure of his time. His father Daryā Khān was a Rohīla Afghān and belonged to the Dā'ūdza'ī clan. He started his career under Shaikh Farīd entitled Murtaḍā Khān but later on joined the service directly under Jahāngīr. In the battle of Dholpur, he displayed great bravery, whereupon Prince Khurram rewarded him with a lakh of rupees and an elephant. Later on leaving the Prince's service, he went over to Khān Jahān Lodī, the governor of the Deccan, but remained disloyal to emperor Jahāngīr. When the Prince became emperor in 1628, Daryā Khān, succeeded in regaining his confidence and received the rank of 4,000 and 3,000 horse and appointment in Bengal. Later on, he was given a fief in Khāndesh. In A.H. 1039 (1629-30 A.D.), his rank was raised to 4,000 and 4,000 horse.

When Shāhū Bhonsla stirred up trouble in Khāndesh, Daryā Khān rushed there to chastise him. In 1630, when Shāh Jahān arrived at Burhānpur to suppress the rebellion of Khān Jahān Lodī, Daryā Khān met him but soon joined hands with the rebellious governor.. When the latter was defeated by A'ẓam Khān, Daryā Khān appeared in Chālisgāon in Khāndesh and caused great havoc. He was put to death by Bikramājīt son of Jhujār Singh in A.H. 1040 (1630-31 A.D.).[1]

Daryā Khān left two sons, Bahādur Khān and Dilair Khān. During the life-time of the father, Bahādur Khān had found favour with Prince Khurram whom he did not leave when Daryā Khān had rebelled. Under Shāh Jahān, he was given a reward of Rupees 50,000 and rank of 4,000 and 2,000 horse and was appointed in the *Sarkār* of Kālpi to deal with the rebellious elements there. Later on, he was sent to assist A'ẓam Khān, the governor of Deccan to suppress the rebellion of Khān Jahān Lodī. In view of his great services there, he was not only promoted to the rank of 4,000 and 3,000 horse, but was also assigned Kālpi and Kannauj with their environs in fief. In 1639-40, he was sent to Islāmābād[2] but was later on dismissed from there. In 1640-41, his rank was further raised to 4,000 and 4,000 horse. In 1646, he received 2 lakhs of rupees from the treasury of Balkh and rank of 5,000 and 5,000 horse. In 1648, he was sent to Multān. During Prince Aurangzeb's campaign against the Uzbeks, he showed great valour. But since Shāh Jahān thought that Bahādur Khān had neither chased Naẓar Muḥammad Khān whole-heartedly nor had he willingly helped Sa'īd Khān against the Uzbeks, he was relieved of the *Faujdārī* of Kālpi and Kannauj which he had held only for a year or so. Besides, 30 lakhs of rupees were also confiscated from him. In 1649, he accompanied Aurangzeb in the expedition of Qandahār, where, during the siege, he died of asthma on 19th of August 1649. His body was brought to Shāhjahānpur which he had founded and named after the name of his lord Shāh Jahān; his tomb is still to be seen in the quarter called Bahādurganj, evidently so called after his name.[3]

The fifth inscription is fixed above the entrance of the enclosure of the Tombs.[4] It assigns the construction of the gate of the tomb of Shaikh Kabīr to Maḥmūd Khān son of

[1] 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh Nāma*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1867), pp. 202-03, 226, 251, 270, 297, 300, 329, 338-39, 483; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 18-21.

[2] This was a *Sarkār* in Bundelkhand. Among the estates included in it were Irij, Bhānḍer and Panwār. See Bainī Prashād's English Translation of *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. I (New Delhi, 1979), p. 343, f.n. 6.

[3] Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 415-24; 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *op. cit.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 195, 548, 554, 692, 708, 719.

[4] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 334.

Salīm Khān Tarīn in A.H. 1076 (1665-66 A.D.) during the reign of Aurangazeb. Its three-line text comprising two verses in Persian is composed by Mahdī, by whom evidently the saint's son and successor, Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī, is meant.

The epigraphical tablet measures 65 by 28 cm. The style of writing is fair *Nasta'līq*.

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate VIII (*b*)

(۱) هو

(۲) صادق [1]ترین محمود خان ابن سلیم خان [2]ترین
کرده [3]دری از روضۀ شیخ [4]کبیر مقتدے

(۳) داده نشان مهدی زمان در عهد اورنگ زیب شه
هفتاد وشش با الف شد [5]از هجرت خیر الورے

TRANSLATION

(1) He is (Allāh)!

(2) The most truthful Maḥmūd Khān son of Salīm Khān Tarīn built the entrance of the tomb of Shaikh Kabīr, the (spiritual) leader.

(3) Mahdī indicated the (time of its construction), during the reign of king Aurangzeb; it was seventy and six with one thousand, after the Migration of the Best of the Creation (i.e. Prophet Muḥammad) (A.H. 1076=1665-66 A.D.).

Nothing is known about Maḥmūd Khān, the builder. He is untraceable in historical or literary works. That he was an Afghān is indicated by his clan-name Tarīn. Also, he seems to have been an ardent disciple of the saint Shaikh Kabīr or his successor Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī who appears to have composed the metrical text commemorating the construction. Needless to say, the quality of verse is mediocre.

The above five inscriptions are related to Shaikh Kabīr and his mausoleum. The next five refer to his son Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī, who lies buried close by. Another son of Shaikh Kabīr was Shaikh Qādir who had predeceased his father by two years.[6] Shaikh Mahdī was also a saint of repute of his time. He finds mention in quite a few epigraphs from Kannauj. From the contents of these epigraphs and on the basis of his forefather's historical and religious background, it can be rightly said that like his forefathers, Shaikh Mahdī also led a pious and religious life and commanded sufficient number of followers and admirers including important Mughal officials. He had built a mosque near his own Tomb in 1657-58. One of

[1] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, p. 114, reads یرین .

[2] *Ibid*. has وین .

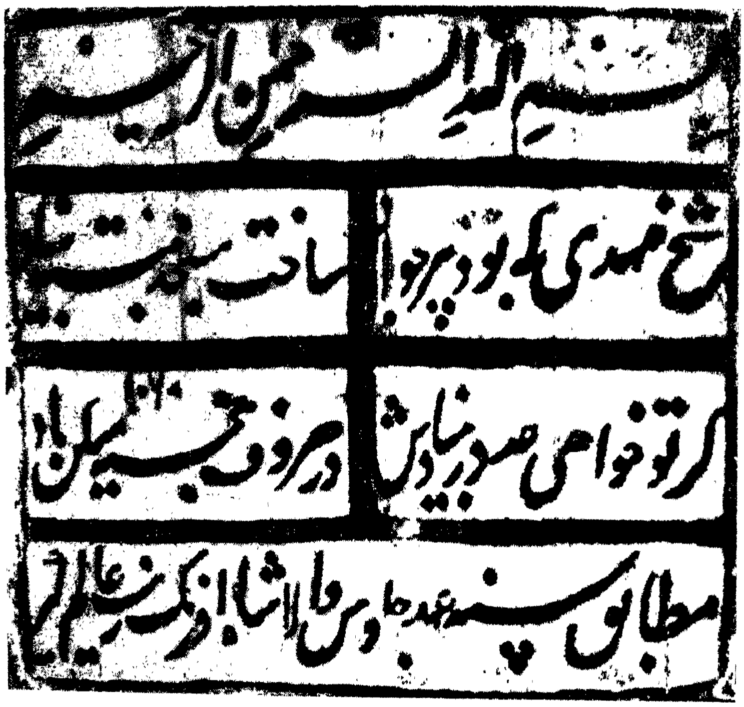
[3] *Ibid*. read درای .

[4] *Ibid*. reads کبیری .

[5] *Ibid*. omits these words.

[6] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 339. Shaikh Kabīr had five wives and four slave-girls, of whom were born twelve sons and ten daughters. For details, see Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, pp. 853-54.

(*a*) Inscription, dated A.H. 1068 (p. 51)



SCALE: .26

(*b*) Inscription, dated A.H. 1081 (p. 52)



SCALE: .14

his disciples Shu'aib Qādirī son of Bahār (or Pahār) Khān Kākar Gharghashtī had built two mosques, one to the west of the Tomb of his master and the other to the west of the Tomb of Shaikh Kabīr in 1663-64.[1]

The sixth inscription is from the mosque situated near the Tomb of Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī.[2] It is in the main in Persian verse consisting of two couplets, preceded by *Basmala* and followed by a line in Persian prose, recording the date in the regnal year of Aurangzeb. The four line text records the construction of the mosque by Shaikh Mahdī during that part of the first regnal year of that emperor which fell in A.H. 1068 (i. e. Ramaḍān-Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1068=May-September 1658). The Hijra year is given both in figure and in a chronogram. The style of writing is good *Nasta'līq*. The text, occupying a writing space of 38 by 31 cm., reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

(۱) [3]بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) شیخ مہدی که بود پیر جواد
[4]ساخت مسجد خجسة [5]بنیاد

(۳) گر تو خواهی عدد زبنیادش
در حروف [6]خجسة ۱۰٦۸ میکن یاد

(۴) [7]مطابق سنه [8]عهد جلوس والاشاه اورنگ زیب عالم گیر

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Shaikh Mahdī who was a generous Pīr (i.e. Spiritual Guide) built a mosque of auspicious foundation.

(3) If you wish (to know) the figure (of the date) of its foundation, know it (to be contained in) the letters of (the word) Khujista (lit. auspicious) (A.H.) 1068 (1657-58 A.D.),

(4) corresponding to the year One of the lofty accession of king Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr.

The seventh epigraph is fixed on the facadé of the gate of the now extinct fort of the town.[9] It states that the gate was constructed by the saint Muḥammad Mahdī in A.H. 1081 (1670-71 A.D.), through the help and assistance of Nawwāb Dilair Khān son of Daryā Khān Ghoriya Khail Dā'ūdza'ī during the reign of Muḥyīu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr, the mason or architect being Chhīnkā. The date is given both in a chronogram and in figure.

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[1] *ARIE*, Nos. D, 345-46.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. D, 343.

[3] Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), p. 268 and Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, p. 113, have omitted the first line.

[4] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, reads ساخته .

[5] *Ibid.* reads نهاد .

[6] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, omits the Hijra date. Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), places it after the name of the king.

[7] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, omits the entire last line.

[8] This is so inscribed on the stone. It should be احد. Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), gives احد, without any comment.

[9] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 348.

Dilair Khān was the title of Jalāl Khān, a younger brother of Bahādur Khān. When the latter was dismissed from the *Faujdārī* of Kannuaj and Kālpī in 1648, Jalāl Khān was appointed to it, having been given the rank of 1,000 and 1,000 horse and the title Dilair Khān. Gradually he rose high in the eyes of the emperor, and in the 30th regnal year (1656-57 A.D.), he was assigned to Deccan along with Mu'aẓẓam Khān Mīr Jumla, to assist Prince Aurangzeb against Bījāpur. In the following year, he was elevated to the rank of 3,000 and 3,000 horse, in recognition of his successful services in the Deccan.

Under Aurangzeb, in 1666, Dilair Khān received the rank of 5,000 and 5,000 horse. In 1675, he was appointed as the *Ṣūbedār* of Multān. Next year he was sent to the Deccan which he was asked to look after in the following year on the removal of Khān Jahān from there, pending the appointment of a new *Ṣūbedār*. In 1678, in the siege of Golkoṇḍā, he was wounded by a musket-ball. A year or so later, he was instrumental in the capture of the Mangalveḍhā fort from the Marāṭhās. In 1682-83, he was sent, along with many others, against the forces of Bījāpur; during those days, he fell seriously ill and died in A.H. 1094 (1683 A.D.). Dilair Khān was physically very strong and sturdy. Strange stories are narrated about his physical strength and diet.[1]

The epigraph under study is partly in Persian verse and partly in prose and is the only one of the group which is engraved in *Naskh* style of writing, which is fairly good. The quality of verse is mediocre. Consisting of four lines on the right side and six on the left, respectively in verse and prose, and occupying a total space of 110 by 42 cm., the text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate IX (b)

(*a*) *Right side.*[2]

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) از محمد مهدی پیر زمان
شد بترتیب حسن باب الجنان

(۳) سال تاریخ از خرد جستم بگفت
وادخلوا حصناً حصیناً بالامان

(۴) ۱۰۸۱ معمار این عالیه بنا چهینکا

(*b*) *Left Side*

(۱) در عهد سلطان الزمان ابو

(۲) الظفر محی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب

(۳) بهادر عالم گیر بادشاه غازی

(۴) باعانت و امداد نواب معلی القاب

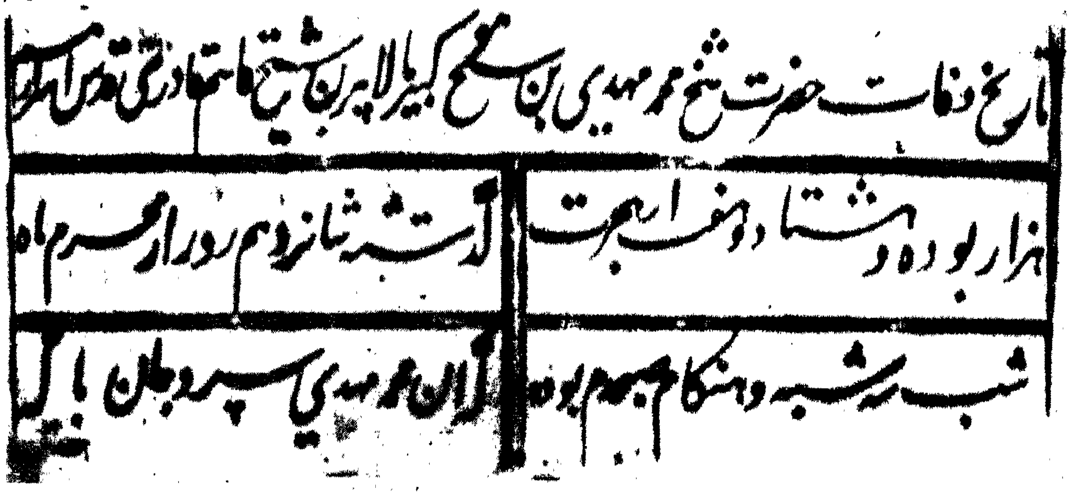
(۵) نواب دلیر خان ابن دریا خان

(٦) غوریه خیل داودزی مرتب شد

[1] For details of his career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 42-46, 53, 55-56; Muḥammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān, *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* (Calcutta, 1871), pp. 15, 50, 59, 140, 150, 165, 182, 228, 237.

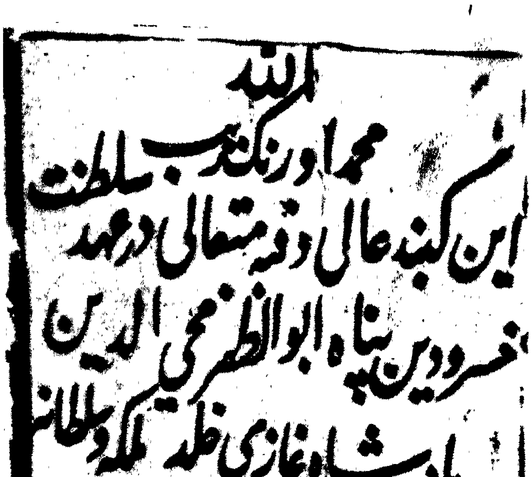
[2] Only this part, and that also incomplete, of the text is given in Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, p. 114 and Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), p. 268, but both differ about its provenance.

(*a*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1087 (p. 53)



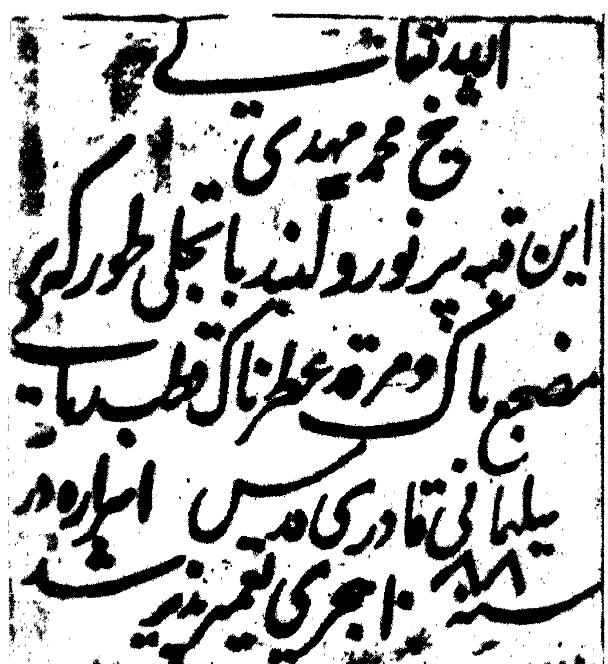
SCALE: .17

(*b*) Record of Aurangzeb (p. 54)



SCALE: .22

(*c*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1088 (p. 55)



SCALE: .24

TRANSLATION

(*a*) (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) By Muḥammad Mahdī, the Pīr (i.e. Spiritual Guide) of the Time was built (this) gate of the heavens in a beautiful manner.

(3) I sought the year of the date from Wisdom. It said, 'And enter the fortified citadel in security'.

(4) (A.H.) 1081 (1670-71 A.D.). The mason (or architect) of this lofty edifice (is) Chhīnkā.

(*b*) (1) In the reign of the Sultān of time, Abū-

(2) Ẕ'-Ẕafar (lit. Father of Victory) Muḥyīu'd-Dīn (Lit. Reviver of Religion) Muḥammad Aurangzeb

(3) Bahādur 'Ālamgīr Bādsẖāh G͟hāzī,

(4) with the help and assistance of the Nawwāb of exalted titles,

(5) Nawwāb Dilair K͟hān son of Daryā K͟hān

(6) G͟horiya K͟hail Dā'ūdza'ī, (this) was erected.

The eighth epigraph is from the tomb of S͟haik͟h Muḥammad Mahdī himself and is fixed above the door, in the centre.[1] It registers the death of the saint S͟haik͟h Muḥammad Mahdī son of S͟haik͟h Kabīr-i-Bālāpīr and grandson of S͟haik͟h Qāsim, on 16th Muḥarram 1087 (21st March 1676). The four-line text is in Persian prose and verse. The style of writing is *Nasta'līq* of a fairly high quality and the epigraphical tablet measures 85 by 34 cm.

The epigraph has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate X [a]

(۱) [2]هو

(۲) [3]تاریخ وفات حضرت شیخ محمد مهدی بن شیخ کبیر بالا پیر

بن شیخ قاسم قادری [4]قدس اسرار هم

(۳) هزار [5]بوده و هشتاد و [6]هفت از هجرت

[7]گزشة شانزدهم روز از محرم ماه

(۴) شب سه شنبه و هنگام صبحدم بوده

که ان محمد مهدی سپرد جان [8]باله

---

[1] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 340.

[2] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.* and Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), p. 280, omit this word.

[3] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, omits the entire prose portion of the epigraph.

[4] Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), omits these words.

[5] *Ibid.* and Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, read بود.

[6] Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), reads هشت.

[7] Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), reads گزشت.

[8] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, reads بالله.

TRANSLATION

(1) He is (Allāh)!

(2) The date of the death of His Holiness Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī son of Shaikh Kabīr-i-Bālāpīr son of Shaikh Qāsim Qādirī, may their secrets be hallowed!

(3) It was a thousand and eighty and seven (years) after the Migration (of the Prophet), sixteenth day of the month of Muḥarram had passed,

(4) (and), it was the night of Tuesday and the early morn-time when that Muḥammad Mahdī made over his soul to God (16 Muḥarram 1087=21 March 1676).

Thomas William Beale places the death of Shaikh Mahdī in A.H. 1088, A.D. 1677.[1] He is obviously in error. As a matter of fact, A.H. 1088 is the date of the erection of his tomb as stated in the inscription to be studied later (p. 55 *infra*).

The nineth inscription[2] is also from the same Tomb of Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī. The square epigraphical tablet measuring 32 cm. a side, is fixed to the right of the previous one. It places the construction of the tomb in the reign of emperor Aurangzeb. Inscribed in five lines of Persian prose, executed in *Nasta'līq* of quite a good quality, the text reads as follows[3]:—

TEXT

Plate X [b]

(۱) [4]الله

(۲) [5]محمد اورنگ زیب

(۲) این گنبد عالی و قبه متعالی در عهد سلطنت

(۳) خسرو دین پناه [6]ابو الظفر محی الدین

(۴) بادشاه غازی [7]خلد ملکه و سلطانه

(۵) تعمیر یافت

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh.

(2) This lofty tomb and magnificent dome, in the period of the reign of Muḥammad Aurangzeb,

(3) the monarch (who is) the Shelter of Religion, Abū'ẓ-Ẓafar (lit. Father of Victory) Muḥyīu'd-Din (lit. Reviver of Religion)

(4) Bādshāh Ghāzī, may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,

(5) was built.

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[1] T. W. Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1894, Delhi Reprint, 1971), p. 204.

[2] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 341.

[3] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, omits.

[4] Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), omits.

[5] The name of the emperor should be taken as the initial part of line 4 of the text.

[6] *Ibid.* reads ابوالمظفر.

[7] *Ibid.* omits.

The last or tenth epigraph of the present study is also from the Tomb of Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī.[1] The epigraphical tablet measuring 35 cm. a side is fixed above the door to the left of the inscription studied in the preceding line (No. 8, p. 53, *supra*). As in the case of the previous inscription, it also refers to the construction of the tomb of Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī who is further called Sulaimānī Qādirī, in A.H. 1088 (1677-78 A.D.). The language is Persian prose and style of writing, fairly good *Nasta'līq*.

The text of the epigraph runs into six lines and reads as follows:—

TEXT[2]

Plate X (c)

(۱) [3]الله تعالی
(۲) [4][شـ]یخ محمد مهدی
(۳) این قبه پر نور وگنبد با تجلی طور [5]که [6]بر
(۴) مضجع پاک و مرقد عطر ناک قطب [7]ربانی
(۵) [8]سلیمانی قادری قدس اسراره در
(٦) سنه ۱۰۸۸ هجری [9]تعمیر پذیر شد

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh the Exalted!

(2) Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī.

(3) This illuminated dome and the tomb (invested) with the manifestation of Mount Sanai, which on

(4) the holy resting-place and perfumed grave of the Quṭb-i-Rabbānī (lit. the Quṭb of the Nourisher)

(5) Sulaimānī Qādirī, may his grave be hallowed! in

(6) 1088 Hijrī (1677-78 A.D.) was erected.

It will be observed that Shaikh Muḥammad Mahdī is called Sulaimānī Qādirī. The last epithet evidently makes him a follower of the famous Qādirī order of the Ṣūfīs. As to Sulaimānī, it is difficult to determine its exact significance. Very likely, the term in this case is associated with Sulaimān mountains in Afghānistān, which would mean that the term Sulaimānī indicates the saint's ancestral home or place of origin. In the alternative, the term may indicate the saint's association or discipleship of a saint named Sulaimān. It has been seen above that Führer calls his grandfather Shāh Qāsim Qādirī also as Sulaimānī.[10] Whether he is so designated in the inscription on his tomb it is difficult to say, for neither does Führer who mentions the epigraph quote its purport, nor is the record published or listed anywhere.

[1] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 342.
[2] Anwār Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, omits the entire text.
[3] Beale, *op. cit.* (*MT*), omits.
[4] *Ibid.* omits. The saint's name belongs to line 5 of the text, before Sulaimānī.
[5] *Ibid.* omits. This word is no doubt redundant here.
[6] *Ibid.* omits.
[7] *Ibid.* reads زمانی .
[8] *Ibid.* reads سلیمانی.
[9] *Ibid.* reads تعمیر .
[10] Führer, *op. cit.*, *p.* 259.

NAWWABS OF ELLICHPUR AND THEIR INSCRIPTIONS

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Senior Epigraphical Assistant

Ellichpur or Achalpur as it has been recently rechristened, is a place of sufficient antiquity and historical importance.[1] Once a flourishing city and capital of one of the five independent Bahmanī-succession kingdoms, namely that of the 'Imād Shāhīs of Berār, it remained for centuries an important centre of social, political and cultural activities. It had also developed its own style in the realm of architecture.

I have selected for study in this article thirteen inscriptions of the Pannī Afghān chiefs or the Nawwābs of Ellichpūr as they are popularly known. These epigraphs range in their dates from A.H. 1184 (1171 A.D.) to A.H. 1256 (1840 A.D.). Before dealing with the epigraphs, it may not be out of place to have a peep into the past history of Berār which is in a way the history of its capital city Ellichpur, particularly since this survey would be helpful in understanding how and under what circumstances these chiefs rose to prominence in the regional history of central India.

Berār with Ellichpur and the nearby mighty stronghold of the Gāwilgaṛh fort formed a province of the Bahmanī kingdom (1347-1538). Its governor Fatḥu'llāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk founded a small independent kingdom in 1490. By 1574, however, it was annexed by the powerful neighbouring kingdom of Ahmadnagar, which in turn had to surrender it to the Mughals under the treaty of 1596 executed by Chānd Bībī Sulṭān. For the next century and a half, the province was ruled over by the Mughals through governors. But when Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh I (Niẓām I) laid the foundation of an independent state of Hyderābād in that year, Berār also formed part thereof and continued as such till 1853.

Achalpur possesses a number of old monuments or buildings which speak of the heyday of its prosperity under different rulers. Amongst them are the 'Īdgāh of Sulṭān 'Imādu'l-Mulk, Jāmi' Mosque, Ḥauḍ Kaṭora, Dār'ush-Shifā Mosque, Dilkushā Maḥal, City-Wall and Gates, Manḍal Shāh's Bath, Chauk kī-Masjid, Imāmbāṛas, Tomb of Shāh Ghulām Ḥusain, Nāmdār Bāgh, Bī-Bahā Bāgh, Ā'ina Maḥal, Tomb of Faḍlū Miyān, Tomb of Shāh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Ghāzī, etc. Most of the buildings are now out-dated and in ruins.

Under the Niẓāms of Hyderābād, their local governors in Berār, the Pannī Afghāns of Ellichpūr played a major role in various spheres of the local history of the region. The inscriptions in the present study, for example, provide information about their building activities. In the later Mughal period, as the province passed into the hands of the rulers of Hyderābād, no work of architectural merit was done except by the Pannī chiefs who through their own limited financial resources tried to enhance the importance of Ellichpur. When in the study of regional development in the field of art and architecture, the work done by these chiefs in the form of palaces, wells, Imāmbāṛās and gardens is taken into consideration,

[1] For the history, monuments and inscriptions of the town, see *District Gazetteers of the Central Provinces*, Amraoti District (Bombay, 1911), pp. 394-403; *Maharashtra State Gazetteers* (*MS*), Amravati District (Bombay, 1968), pp. 639-46; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1959-60, Nos. D, 62-83; 1964-65, Nos. D, 99-115; 1965-66, Nos. D, 161-72; 1966-67, Nos. D, 140-141; etc.

it would be easily recognised that the local chiefs tried to make Ellichpur one of the beautiful cities of the region.

The Pannī chiefs trace their origin, according to the late Sayyid Amjad Ḥusain Khaṭīb, a local historian, to one Bandal Khān Afghān who after leaving his country of birth first came to Delhi and then moved into the Mārwāṛ region of Rājasthān. Later on, he settled down at Alipur, a suburb of Nāgpur. Here the family served under the famous Gonḍ chief Bakht Baland Shāh (1668-1706). Ultimately, the family shifted in 1696-97 to Ellichpur, where the two brothers Sarmast Khān and Sulṭān Khān entered service as Arms-bearers of 'Alī Mardān Khān, the governor of Berār under Aurangzeb. When 'Iwaḍ Khān governed Berār under Farrukh Siyar, the two brothers became Head Arms-bearers.[1] They seem to have taken keen interest in enlarging and beautifying the city; two localities there, viz. Sarmastpurā and Sultānpurā, are named after them.[2]

Ismā'īl Khān Pannī son of Sulṭān Khān was the most famous of these Nawwābs (1765-75). After his death, his sons Ṣalābat Khān and Buhlūl Khān received manṣabs and fiefs. Ismā'īl Khān was appointed deputy governor in 1765. Earlier, he had proved his prowess in a battle which was fought in 1763 at Rakshashbhawan between the Niẓām and the Marāṭ-ās. He was made governor in 1766. However, later on, his relations with Ẓafaru'd-Daula, the Niẓām's minister, became strained. The latter lost no chance to dislodge him from his post in Berār. Ultimately in 1775, the Niẓām issued orders, appointing his eldest son as governor of Berār in his place and confining the Pannī chief to the fief of Bālāpur only. Ismā'īl Khān felt disgraced and refused to obey. Ẓafar'ud-Daula who was waiting for such an opportunity was sent to Ellichpur and the Niẓām also reached there in person. In the action which took place about forty kilometres from Ellichpur in the middle of May 1775, Ismā'īl Khān was beheaded.[3] In 1790, Ṣalābat Khān was appointed governor of Berār. Two years later, Buhlūl Khān was brought in as the governor of Berār and Aurangābād. But he proved to be a failure and Ṣalābat Khān was reappointed in the post. During his governorship, he enlarged the place, laid out gardens for public and repaired the old water-channels of the city.[4] He fought on the side of the Niẓām's forces against the Marāṭhās at Khārdā in 1795. He died after a long rule in 1824 and was succeeded by his son Nāmdār Khān. The latter was also a great builder. He has many works in the city to his credit. He laid out gardens, built the famous Hall-of-Mirrors, Bārādarī and Imāmbāṛa mosque. He followed a policy of retrenchment to increase the revenue of his fief and levied new taxes. Hence he was nicknamed Banya-Nawwāb.[5] Three sons and three daughters were born to him, but none of them survived. He had therefore adopted Muḥammad Sardār Khān son of one Shaikh Dā'ūd, but after his death in 1845, he was succeeded by his nephew Ibrāhīm Khān (1845-49). The latter succumbed to the epidemic of cholera which broke out in the town in 1849.[6] Shams Khātūn, the widow of Ibrāhīm Khān, was the last in the line to get the fief confirmed. Her father Ghulām Ḥasan Khān the Regent, in lieu of seven lakhs of rupees paid as nazrāna to the Niẓām inherited the estate. In 1853, Berār was assigned to the East India Company by the Niẓām and thus came to an end the line and the rule of the Nawwābs of Ellichpur.[7]

[1] Amjad Ḥusain Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh-i-Amjadiya* (Hyderābād, 1876), p. 433.

[2] *MS*, p. 644.

[3] *MS*, p. 108; *The Chronology of Modern Hyderabad* (Hyderābād, 1954), p. 32; P. Setu Mādhava Rāo, *Marāṭhe-wa-Nizām* (Bombay, 1961), p. 193; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 370-71; Najmu'l-Ghanī, *Tārīkh-i-Riyāsat-i-Ḥydarābād-Dakan*, vol. II (Lucknow, 1930), p. 350.

[4] Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, pp. 457-58; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India (IG)*, vol. XII (Oxford, 1908), p. 20.

[5] *MS*, p. 114.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 115; Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

[7] *MS*, p. 114.

The town owes its present fortification walls to Nawwāb Ismā'īl Khān.[1] The construction of the city-walls which began in 1766-67 was completed seven years later. The wall is built of sandstone slabs taken from the ruined tombs and buildings of the 'Imād Shāhī rulers and many others situated near the 'Īdgāh.[2] Rising to a height of about 10.80 metres and being 3.60 metres wide, its five gates are bedecked with beautiful canopies.

Broadly speaking, of the thirteen inscriptions studied here, six are from the city gates, two from the gardens, two from the Imāmbāṛas, one each from the Palace, a Well and a Tomb. These epigraphs provide information regarding building activities and contain names of the Āṣaf Jāhī rulers of Hyderabād, the chiefs Sulṭān Khān, Ismā'īl Khān, Ṣalābat Khān and Muḥammad Nāmdār Khān officials, like Fatḥ Jang Khān and Khushkhabar Khān and the famous mythical saint 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Ghāzī Shahīd popularly known as Shāh Dulhā Raḥmān. These names are closely associated with the political, social, cultural, religious and literary activities of the region. In short, these epigraphs have their own importance as a source for the later history of Berār. Last but not the least, Berār chiefs professed Mahdawī tenets as is clearly stated in inscription Nos. IX, X, XII and XIII.

I. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 1184 (1771 A.D.)

The town of Ellichpūr is entered through five gates named Dulhā, Hirāpurā, Mālipurā, Balandpurā and Jiwanpurā (also named Nāgpur) gates. Inscriptions from the Hirāpurā gate have already been published in a previous issue of this Series.[3] The slab (57 by 65 cm.) bearing the epigraph under study is built up on the left side of the Mālipurā gate of the town.[4] The language of the record is Persian. There seems to be an orthographical mistake in line five of the text, where the word *Nāẓim* before the word *Ṣūba* is inadvertently left out. Executed in *Nasta'līq* style of writing interspersed with floral designs,the epigraph records the construction of the gate also called in the text Mālīpūra, which was carried out under the orders of Nawwāb Niẓām 'Alī Khān Bahādur Āṣaf Jāh (the Second), at the suggestion of Nawwāb Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur, the *Nāẓim* of the province of Berār. It also states that the work was completed under the supervision of Khushkhabar Khān, the Revenue-collector (*'Āmil*) of the *Pargana* of Ellichpūr.

The epigraph was earlier noticed by Rāi Bahādur Hirālāl. According to him, 'the date of its (i.e. the gate's) construction is given as A.H. 1183 (Faslī 1180=1769 A.D.) during the governoship of Nawāb Nizām Alī Khān with the advice of Nawāb Ismail Khān, and completed by Kushkhabar Khān *Amil* of Ellichpūr *Pargana*.[5] This purport is wrong and misguiding, except the Faṣlī year which he has correctly quoted but its Gregorian equivalent is again wrongly given as A.D. 1769 instead of A.D. 1771 and the Hijra 1183 is a mistake for A.H. 1184. Moreover, Nawwāb Niẓām 'Alī Khān was not a governor, but more or less an independent ruler of Hyderābād. It was Nawwāb Ismā'īl Khān who was the Nāẓim or governor of Berār under him.

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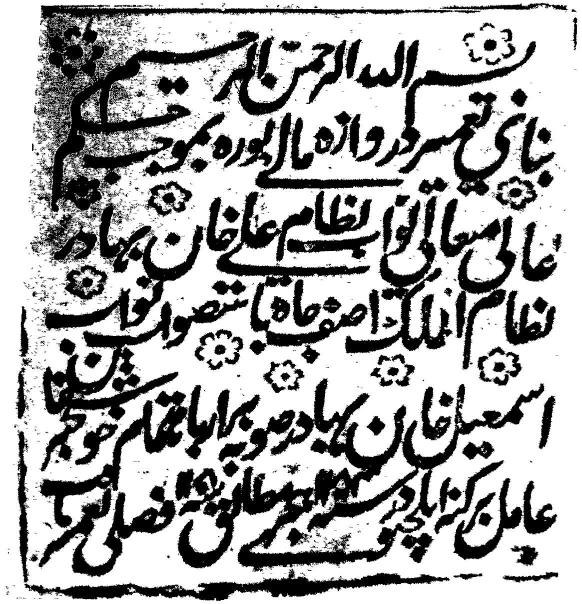
[1] The famous fort of Bālāpūr in Ākolā District was also built by him.

[2] Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

[3] S. A. Raḥīm, 'Six Mughal Inscriptions from Vidarbha', *Epigraphia Indica Arabic & Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*), 1967, pp. 73-75.

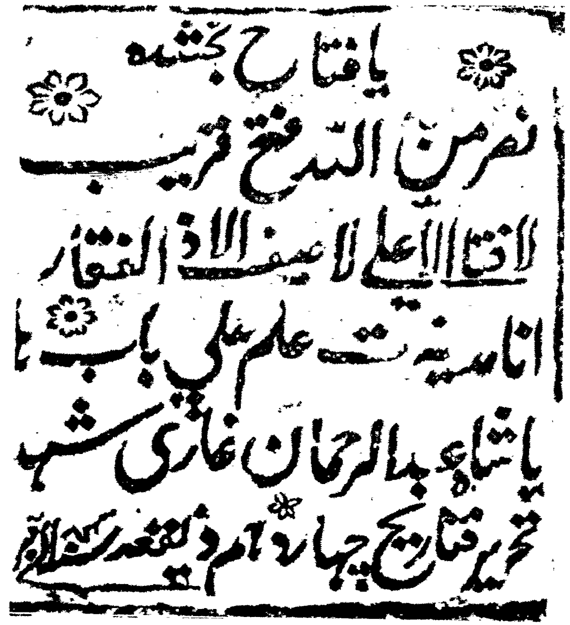
[4] *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 105.

[5] R. B. Hirālāl, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (Nāgpur, 1916), p. 128, No. 177.



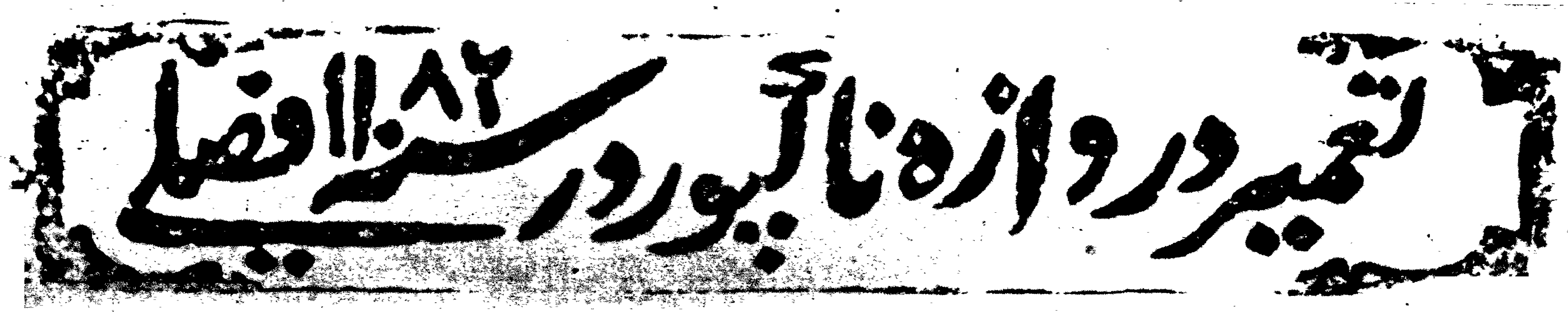
(*a*) Record, dated A.H. 1184 (p. 59)

SCALE: .13



(*b*) Record, dated A.H. 1184 (p. 60)

SCALE: .12



(*c*) Inscription, dated Faṣlī 1182, A.H. 1186 (p. 61)

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XI (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(۲) بنای تعمیر دروازه مالی پوره بموجب حکم
(۳) عالی متعالی نواب نظام علی خان بهادر
(۴) نظام الملک آصف جاه باستصواب نواب
(۵) اسمعیل خان بهادر [ناظم] صوبه برار باهتمام خوشخبر خان
(٦) عامل سرگنه ایلچپو[ر] در سنه ۱۱۸۴ هجری مطابق سنه ۱۱۸۰ فصلی تعمیر یافت

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2-3) The construction of the edifice of the Mālīpūra gate (took place) under the lofty and exalted orders of Nawwāb Niẓām 'Alī Khān Bahādur

(4) Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh (II), at the suggestion of Nawwāb

(5) Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur (*Nāẓim*) of the province (*Ṣūba*) of Berār under the superintendence of Khushkhabar Khān,

(6) the Revenue-collector (*'Āmil*) of the *Pargana* of Ellichpū(r). It was constructed in the year A.H. 1184 corresponding to Faṣlī year 1180 (1771 A.D.).

I have not been able to gather any information about Khushkhabar Khān under whose superintendence the construction of the gate took place. The inscription on the Hīrā gate of the town also refers to the construction of that gate under his superintendence.[1] This means that Khushkhabar Khān was connected with the construction work of the fort of Ellichpur; he might have been placed in charge of the job. It also shows that Khushkhabar Khān who held the post in 1766-67, the date of the inscription under reference, continued to hold it till 1771, the year in which the Mālipurā gate was built.

II. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 1184 (1771 A.D.)

The slab bearing the second record of the group is built up in the wall on the right side of the same gate.[2] Measuring 57 by 65 cm., it contains six lines of writing in Arabic and Persian. The text contains religious text comprising part of a Quranic verse promising the help of Allāh and impending victory, the famous Arabic verse in praise of the Prophet of Islām Muḥammad's Companion and son-in-law 'Alī and his sword Dhu'l-Faqār, a Tradition of the Holy Prophet describing himself as the city of Knowledge and 'Alī as 'its gate' and the name of Pāshāh (i.e. Shāh) 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Ghāzī, the martyr, the patron-saint of the town who is closely associated with the traditionary history of the province and lies buried in the town. His death anniversary is celebrated with great pomp on the 10th of Rabī' I, largely attended by hosts of people from far and near.[3] The 'Alī forms the central theme of the epigraph which might have been set up by some one following the Shī'a creed.

[1] *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 103; *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 73-74, pl. XIX (a).

[2] *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 106.

[3] For an account of the saint, see Sayyid 'Imāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Barakātu'l-Auliyā* (Delhi, A.H. 1322), p. 4; *MS*, p. 642.

This epigraph was also noticed by Rāi Bahādur Hīrālāl, the gist given by whom is incomplete and the Gregorian equivalent of the date wrong.[1]

The style of writing of the epigraph is *Nasta'līq*. The writing suffers from a number of orthographical errors. The text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XI (*b*)

(۱) یا فتاح بخشنده

(۲) نصر من الله [و] فتح قریب

(۳) لافتا الا علی لا صیف الا ذا لفقار

(۴) انا مدینه ت علم علی باب ها

(۵) پاشاه عبدا لرحمان غازی شهید

(٦) تحریر فتاریخ چهار دهم ذ قعد سنة ۱۱۸۴ هجری

TRANSLATION

(1) O forgiving Opener!

(2) 'Help is from Allāh and victory near'.[2]

(3) There is no magnanimous youth except 'Alī and no sword except Dhu'l-Faqār.

(4) (The Prophet has said:) 'I am the city of Knowledge and 'Alī is its gate'.

(5) Pāshāh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Ghāzī the martyr.

(6) Written on the fourteenth of (the month of) Dhī-Qa'd year A.H. 1184 (1st March 1771).

The exact purport of the record is not clear from the above text. The sayings on different themes put together by the author of the inscription have no relevance to the object of the epigraph. At the most, the Tradition of the Prophet which refers to 'Alī as the gate of the city of Knowledge personified by himself may perhaps be taken to indicate that the inscription pertained to the gate.

III-IV. INSCRIPTIONS DATED FAṢLĪ 1182, A.H. 1186 (1772-73 A.D.)

There are three inscriptions fixed on the Jiwanpurā gate,[3] two on the right side and one on the left. One of the two inscriptions on the right side contains only Quranic text. The remaining one epigraph on the right and the one on the left constitute one record as can be easily seen from the text as also the size of the tablets and the style of writing. The two inscribed tablets in question measure 60 by 12 cm. and contain one-line text each. The text on these tablets taken together refers to the construction of the gate designated therein as Nāgpūr Darwāza in the Faṣlī year 1182 (1772-73 A.D.) and in A.H. 1186 (1772-73 A.D.), during the time (*'amal*) of Nawwāb Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur.

These two inscriptions were also noticed by R. B. Hirālāl, the purport given by whom is, however, as usual, not correct. He places the construction of the gate in A.H. 1182 and Faṣlī 1179 corresponding to 1768 A.D. As will be seen from the text quoted below, the construction took place in A.H. 1186 and Faṣlī 1182 which corresponded to 1772-73 A.D. Also, strictly speaking, the epigraph does not name the Nawwāb as the builder as stated by Hirālāl, but refers to his time only, though the funds for the job must have been provided by him.

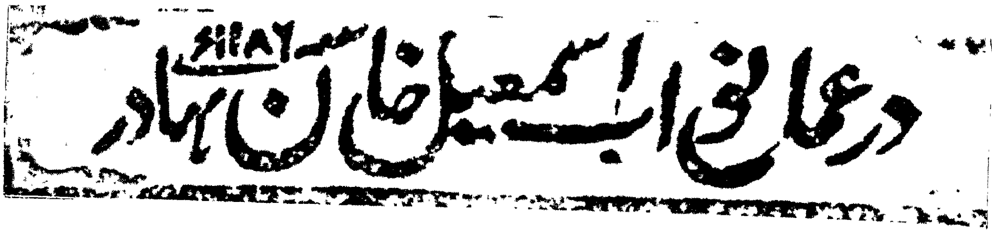
[1] Hirālāl, *op. cit.*

[2] *Qur'ān*, Chapter LXI, part of verse 31.

[3] *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 107.

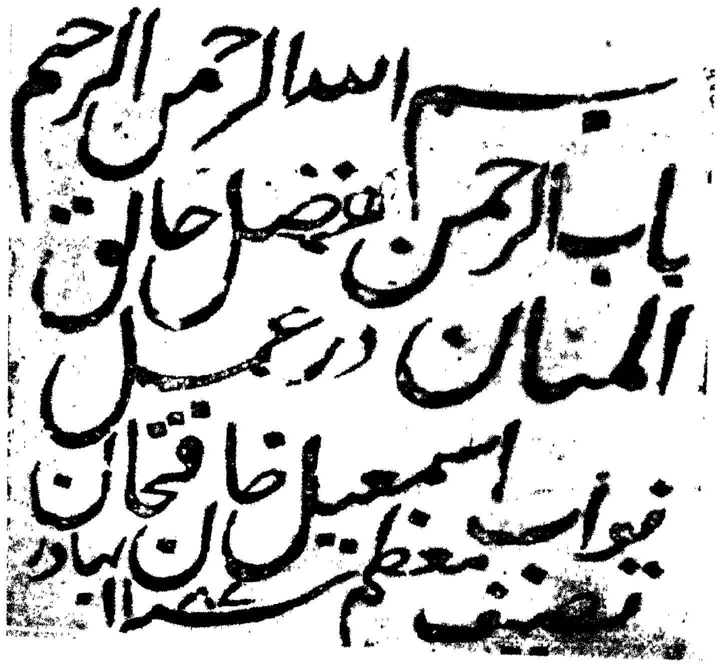
PLATE XII

(*a*) Inscription, dated A.H. 1186 (p. 61)



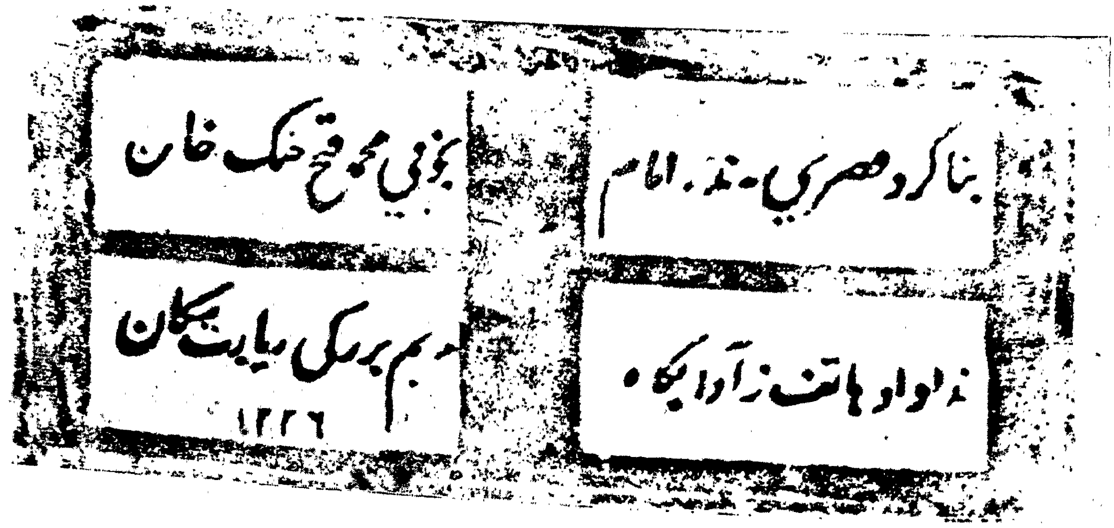
SCALE: .2

(*b*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1187 (p. 61)



SCALE: .19

(*c*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1226 (p. 62)



SCALE: .3

The style of writing in both the tablets is identical and in the same hand; it is fairly good *Nasta'līq*.

The text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XI (c)

تعمیر دروازه ناگپور در سنه ١١٨٢ فصلی (*a*)

Plate XII (a)

در عمل نواب اسمعیل خان بهادر سنه ١١٨٦ هجری (*b*)

TRANSLATION

(*a*) The construction of the Nāgpūr gate (took place) in the Faṣlī year 1182 (1772-73 A.D.),

(*b*) during the time of Nawwāb Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur in the year A.H. 1186 (1772-73 A.D.).

V. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 1187 (1773-74 A.D.)

The tablet bearing this epigraph is fixed over the Balandpurā gate of the town[1] and measures 46 by 44 cm. It comprises five lines of writing in Persian executed in *Nasta'līq* characters of no particular merit. Here too, there is a curious spelling mistake in the writing of the clan-name Paṭhān, which is written as Fatḥān, as will be pointed out presently. The text starts with *Basmala* and records the construction of Bābu'r-Raḥmān i.e. Raḥman Gate in A.H. 1187 (1773-74 A.D.) during the time ('*amal*) of Nawwāb Ismā'īl Khān Fatḥān, *recte* Paṭhān. The epigraph is further stated to have been composed by one Mu'aẓẓam.

The text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XII (b)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
(٢) باب الرحمن بفضل خالق
(٣) المنان در عمل
(۴) نواب اسمعیل خان فتحان
(۵) تصنیف معظم سنة ١١٨٧

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2-3) The gate of the Raḥmān (lit. Beneficent) i.e. the Raḥmān Gate (was built) by the grace of the obliging Creator, during the time ('*amal*) of

(4) Nawwāb Ismā'īl Khān Fatḥān (*recte,* Paṭhān).

(5) Composed (by) Mu'aẓẓam, year (A.H.) 1187 (1773-74 A.D.).

[1] *ARIE,* 1964-65, No. D, 110.

The gate, called the Raḥmān Gate in the text, is thus actually named after the saint Shāh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān already mentioned in the previous lines. It is surprising that the name has not stuck. The gate is now called Balandpurā gate, after the locality of that name.

It is interesting to note the spelling of the clan-name Paṭhān. It is indeed not the Arabic form of the name—the sound *p* being represented by *f* in that language—as one would be led to believe at first, in view of the initial *f* engraved on the stone. The sound th in the name has been, perhaps through the engraver's mistake, made *ṭh*.

Likewise, somewhat intriguing is the mention of Mu'aẓẓam as the author of the text. For there is nothing poetic in or about the text nor is there anything chronogrammatic or the like which is normally followed by the name of the author or composer. However, it is likely that Mu'aẓẓam who mentions himself as the author of the text, was a poet; the name may represent his nom-de-plume.

VI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 1226 (1811 A.D.)

The slightly damaged epigraphical tablet measuring 36 by 20 cm. is fixed over entrance of the famous Zarī-kā-Imāmbāṛā.[1] It contains a record of two verses in Persian assigning the construction of a lofty building or mansion in the name of Imām (i.e. Ḥusain, the grandson of the Holy Prophet) in A.H. 1226 (1811 A.D.) by Muḥammad Fatḥ Jang Khān. The style of writing is refreshingly beautiful *Nasta'līq*. The record reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XII (c)

(۱) بنا کرد قصری بنذر امام
بخوبی محمد فتح جنگ خان
(۲) ندا داد هاتف زآدابگاه
حریم بزرگ زیارت مکان ۱۲۲۶

TRANSLATION

(1) A palatial mansion was built as an offer to Imām (Ḥusain) in a fine way by Muḥammad Fatḥ Jang Khān.

(2) (For the date of its construction), the invisible Angel gave a call regarding (this) place of obeisance: *It is a great holy precinct and a place of pilgrimage.* (A.H.) 1226 (1811 A.D.).

Muḥammad Fatḥ Jang Khān who built the Imāmbāṛa[2] in question was the father-in-law of Nawwāb Muḥammad Nāmdār Khān and his Prime Minister. The Ellichpur Brigade famous in its days was also trained by him. Towards the end of his career, he was posted at Aurangābād, where he died in A.H. 1235 (1819-20 A.D.). His dead body was brought and laid to rest at Ellichpur.[3]

The next five inscriptions belong to the time of Nawwāb Nāmdār Khān. A great builder, he is far more reputed for his interest in game-hunting. He is said to have hunted hundreds of tigers out of whose skin, he had got a tent prepared for his use.[4] He maintained

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[1] *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 163.

[2] Imāmbāṛā, a place dedicated to the memory of the Holy Prophet's grandsons Imām Ḥasan and Imām Ḥusain where, particularly in the month of Muḥarram, mourning assemblies and meetings are held.

[3] Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, p. 489; Najmu'l-Ghanī, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

[4] *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, *p.* 492.

close relations with British officials and also with the then Viceroy Lord Wellesley under whose special protection he is said to have been placed by his father. He took active part in the annual '*Urs* ceremony of S͟hāh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān G͟hāzī for whom he had great respect and love. He was a poet too of Urdū and adopted Jarnail, which is a vernacular adaptation of the designation General, as his pen-name. He was the only Nawwāb of his line to compose verses and leave a Dīwān.[1] When Baizā Bā'i, the Rānī of Gwālior passed through Berār on her way to Nāsik and other religious places, Nāmdār Khān extended all possible help for her safe and comfortable jounrey.[2]

VII-VIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 1229 (1813-14 A.D.)

The next two inscriptions are from Nāmdār Bāg͟h. One epigraphical tablet measuring 44 by 30 cm. is fixed on the right side of the main gate.[3] The short four-line text engraved thereon in relief commences with *Basmala* and merely refers to the laying out of the garden of His Excellency General Muḥammad Nāmdār K͟hān Bahādur Pannī in the year A.H. 1229 (1813-14 A.D.). The language is Persian and style of writing beautiful *Nasta'līq.*

The Nāmdār Bāg͟h is now desolate. When I visited Ellichpur more than a decade ago, before joining the Archaeological Survey of India, Nāmdār Bāg͟h wore a deserted look and only its walls and the well were then traceable.

The epigraph has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIII (c)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
(۲) تعمیر باغ سرکار
(۳) جنرل محمد نامدار خان
(۴) بہادر پنی سنة ۱۲۲۹ هجری

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
(2) The laying out of the garden of His Excellency
(3) General Muḥammad Nāmdār K͟hān
(4) Bahādur Pannī (took place in) the year A.H. 1229 (1813-14 A.D.).

The tablet bearing the other inscription from the same garden measures 40 by 20 cm. and is fixed to the left side of the gate.[4] It contains a Quatrain (*Rubā'ī*) in Urdū, composed by Jānbāz, affording a chronogram for the laying out of the garden described in the text as bringing shame to Kas͟hmīr and Iram,[5] which was laid out by the general i.e. Nawwāb Nāmdār K͟hān, in A.H. 1229 (1813-14 A.D.). The date is also given in figure.

[1] K͟haṭīb, *op. cit.*, p. 504. The copy of his Dīwān is available in Ellichpur. For an account of his literary achievements in this field, see Professor Dr. Sayyida Wasīm Durdāna Bāsiṭ, *Ellichpūr-ke-Chand Qadīm S͟hu'arā* (Ākolā, 1980), pp. 160-86.

[2] *Ibid., op. cit.*, pp. 497-98.

[3] *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 82.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. D, 83.

[5] Iram is the fabulous garden said to have been devised by S͟haddād bin 'Ād in emulation of the garden of Paradise.

The text is inscribed in beautiful *Nasta'līq* and reads as under:

TEXT

Plate XIII (a)

(۱) جنرل نی کیا جبکه گلستان بنیاد
(۲) خجلت ده کشمیر و ارم نو ایجاد
(۳) جانباز نی تاریخ جو چاها اوسکے
(۴) هاتف نی کها باغ بهاری آباد ۱۲۲۹

TRANSLATION

(1) When the General laid the foundation of the garden,
(2) a new creation putting Kas͟hmīr and (even) Iram to shame,
(3) (and) when Jānbāz desired (to know) its date,
(4) the invisible Angel said,'(it is) *a garden of everlasting spring.'* (A.H.) 1229 (1813-14 A.D.).

The last three words in the concluding hemistich of the Quatrain yield according to the *Abjad* system the year A.H. 1229 which is also inscribed in figure.

The word General occurring in the above two inscriptions was the nom-de-plume of Nawwāb Nāmdār K͟hān Pannī. This is the earliest Urdū inscription discovered from the town. It was composed by Muns͟hī Ḥas͟hmat Rāi who had adopted the nom-de-plume Jānbāz and was a poet of repute.

IX. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 1236 (1820-21 A.D.)

This inscription is from the Baṛā Imāmbāṛa. The inscriptional tablet measuring 45 by 90 cm. is fixed above its entrance.[1] The text which runs into nine lines of Persian records the date of the commencement of the building by way of an offering to Imām (Ḥusain) and assigns its construction to Muḥammad Nāmdār K͟hān son of Muḥammad Ṣalābat K͟hān Bahādur Afg͟hān Pannī Sulaimān Za'ī Mahdavī, who is described as a devoted servant (*Fidwī*) of Nawwāb Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur (III). The year is given both in the Hijra and the Faṣlī eras.

The style of writing is *Nasta'līq* of no particular merit. The text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(۲) بانی اینمکان جنت نشان زیارت گاه
(۳) خاص و عام بنذر امام علیه السلام اضعف
(۴) العباد محمد نامدار خان بهادر خلف
(۵) محمد صلابتخان بهادر افغان پنی
(۶) سلیمان زئی مهدوی فدوی

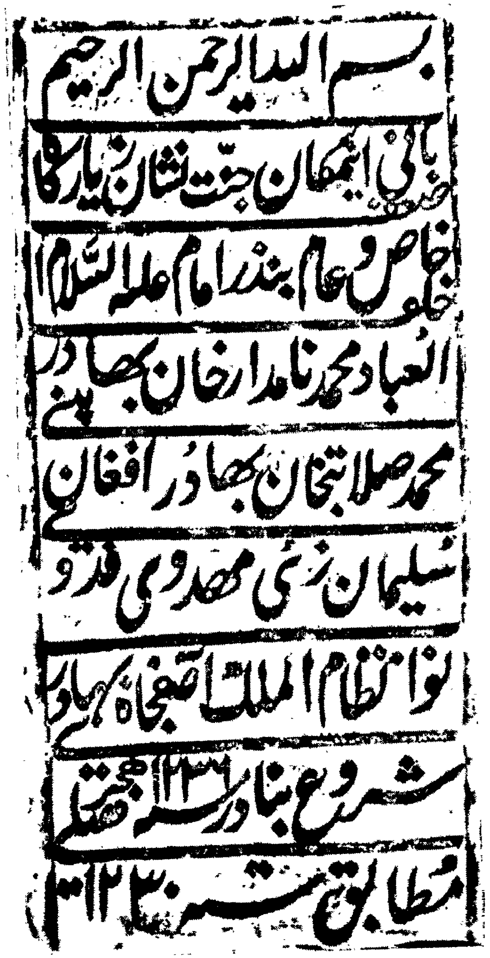
[1] *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 102.

(a) Record, dated A.H. 1229 (p. 64)



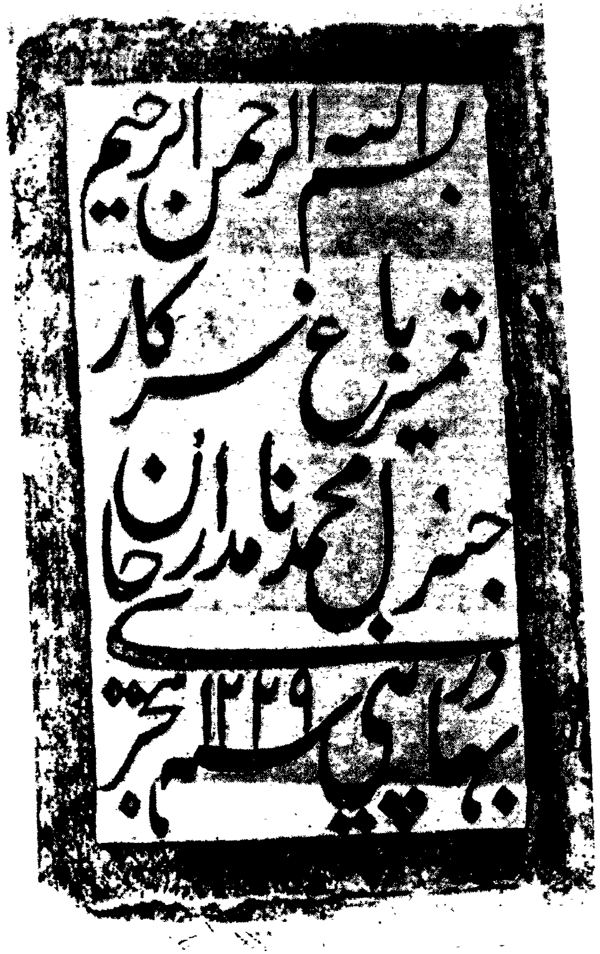
SCALE: .28

(b) Record, A.H. 1236 (p. 64)



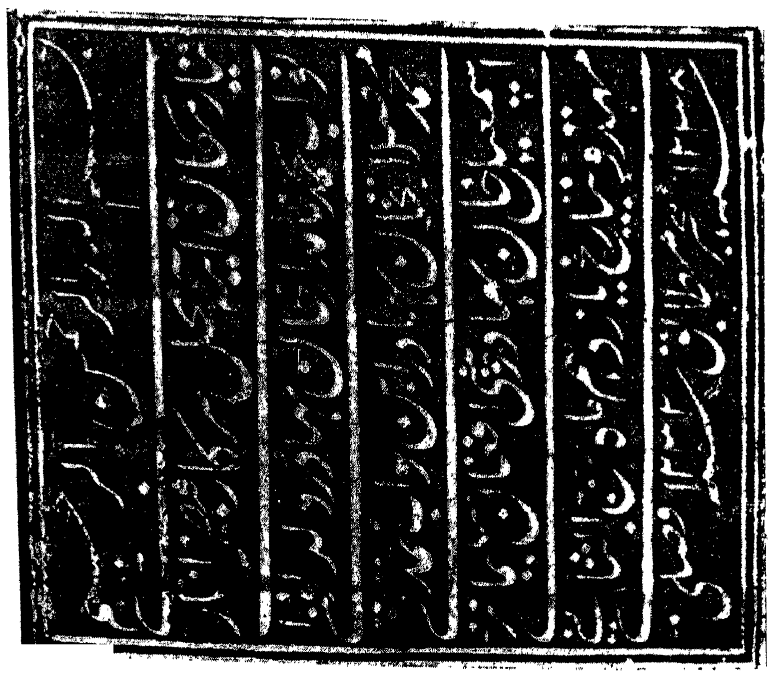
SCALE: .13

(c) Epigraph, A. H. 1219 (p. 63)



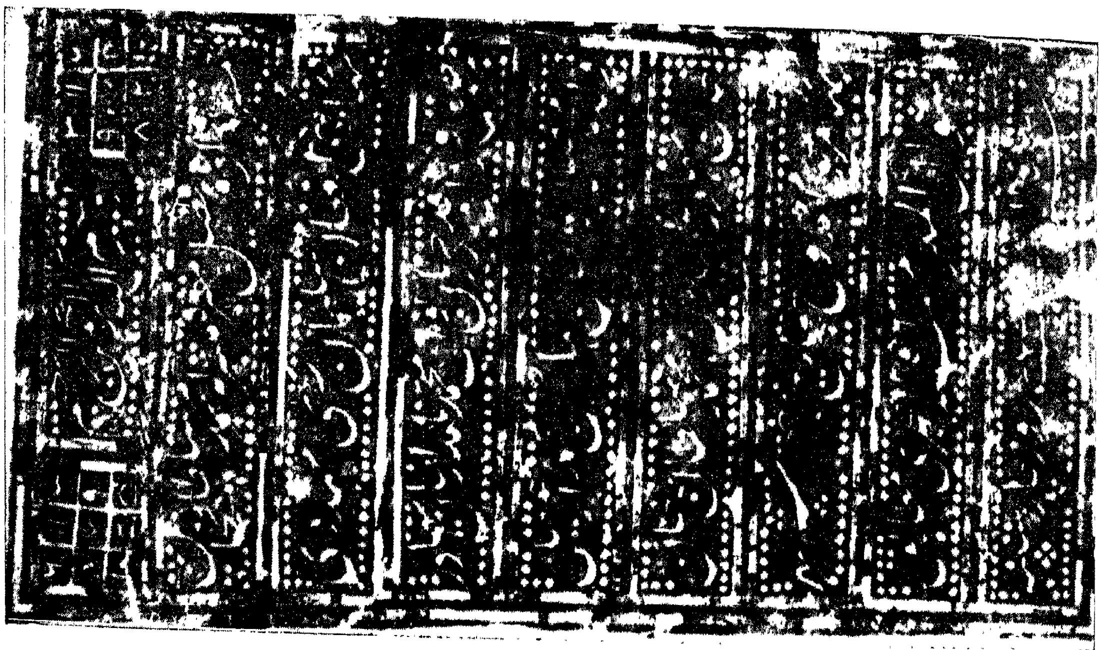
SCALE: .25

PLATE XV



(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1238 (p. 65)

SCALE: .15



(b) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1256 (p. 68)

SCALE: .17

(۷) نواب نظام الملک آصفجاه بهادر
(۸) شروع بنا در سنه ۱۲۳۶ هجری
(۹) مطابق سنه ۱۲۳۰ فصلی

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) The founder of this paradise-indicating edifice, a place of pilgrimage

(3) for the high and the low, by way of offering to Imām (Ḥusain), may peace be on him, (is) the weakest of

(4) creatures Muḥammad Nāmdār Khān Bahādur son of

(5) Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur Afghān Pannī.

(6) Sulaimān-Za'ī Mahdavī, a devoted servant (*Fidwī*) of

(7) Nawwāb Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur (III).

(8) The commencement of the construction (was) in the year A.H. 1236,

(9) corresponding to the Faṣlī year 1230 (1820-21 A.D.).

This epigraph gives full details of the clan-name of the chiefs and religious sect to which they belonged.

X. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 1238 (1822 A.D.)

This inscription occurs on a marble slab now lying loose in the Palace of Nāmdār Khān.[1] Occupying a writing space of 63 by 49 cm., the text assigns the construction of a mansion called Ā'īna-Maḥal (Hall of Mirrors) in the year A.H. 1238, Faṣlī 1232 (1822 A.D.) to Muḥammad Nāmdār Khān Bahādur son of Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur son of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur Pannī Afghān Sulaimān-Za'ī Mahdavī.

The Ā'īna-Maḥal referred to in the epigraph now houses the Raḥmānia Urdū High School. It originally consisted of a number of buidings. Its roof and walls were studded with mirrors and hence the building came to be so called. What now remains of this palatial mansion are solid wooden pillars, stones and gates with beautiful carvings.

The language of the epigraph is Persian. The style of writing is *Nasta'līq* of a fairly good type. The text is not inscribed in relief as is the case with most of the other epigraphs under study but is incised on stone. Here too, the calligrapher has resorted to the device of marking the horizontal panels by extending the horizontal strokes of letters *bā* and *yā* instead of independent straight lines. The overall visual effect of the design is quite pleasing.

The text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XV (*a*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(۲) تیاری مکان آینه محل سرکار فیض آثار
(۳) نواب محمد نامدار خان بهادر ولد نواب
(۴) محمد صلابتخان بهادر ابن نواب محمد
(۵) اسمعیل خان بهادر پنی افغان سلیمانزی
(۶) مهدوی بتاریخ یازدهم ماه ربیع الثانی
(۷) سنه ۱۲۳۸ هجری مطابق ۱۲۳۲ فصلی

[1] *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 81.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
(2) (Became) ready the mansion of Ā'ina-Maḥal of His Excellency, the bountiful
(3) Nawwāb Muḥammad Nāmdār Khān Bahādur son of Nawwāb
(4) Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur son of Nawwāb Muḥammad
(4) Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur Pannī Afghān Sulaimān-Za'ī
(6) Mahdavī, on the date, eleventh of the month of Rabī' the Second
(7) of the year A.H. 1238, corresponding to the Faṣlī year 1235 (11 Rabī' II, 1238=26 December 1822).

XI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 1240 (1824-25 A.D.)

This inscribed slab measuring 47 by 70 cm. is fixed into the north wall of a well called Sādhulāl's well situated in Maḥalla Ashrafpurā.[1] The record begins with *Basmala* followed by a four-line Persian text assigning the construction of the well to Nawwāb Muḥammad, Nāmdār Khān Pannī son of Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur Pannī. The work was completed in A.H. 1240 corresponding to Faṣlī 1234 (1824-25 A.D.). The text, inscribed in *Nasta'līq* script, reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIV (*b*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(۲) تیاری چاه آب از سرکار فیض آثار
(۳) نواب محمد نامدار خان بهادر پنی
(۴) ولد نواب محمد صلابتخان بهادر پنی
(۵) درسنه ۱۲۴۰ هجری مطابق سنه ۱۲۳۴ فصلی

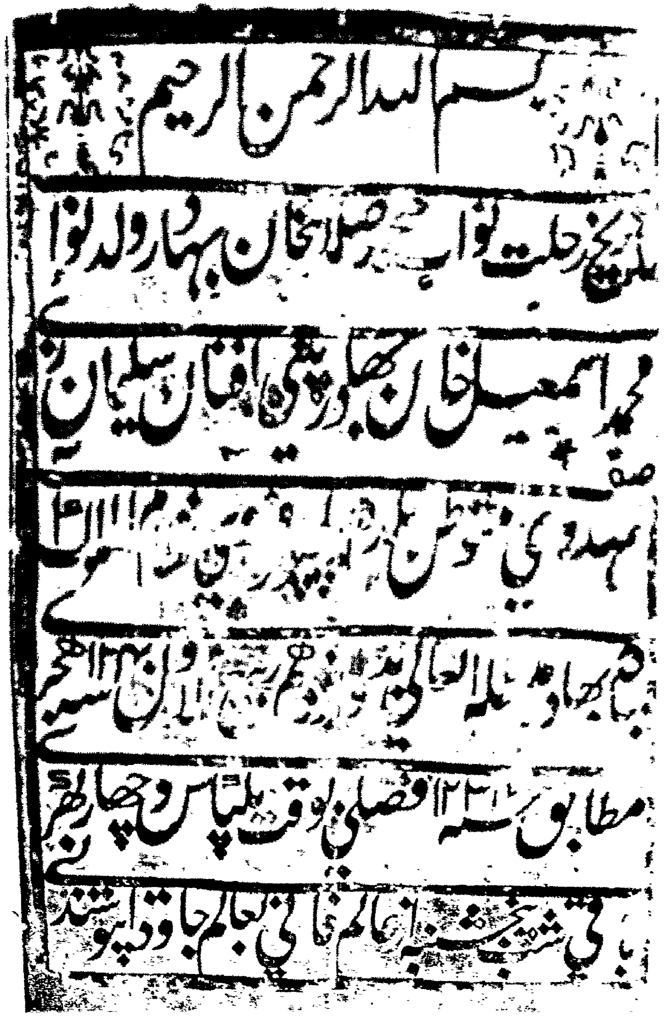
TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
(2) The well of water was got ready by His Excellency the bountiful
(3) Nawwāb Muḥammad Nāmdār Khān Bahādur Pannī
(4) son of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur Pannī
(5) in the year A.H. 1240, corresponding to Faṣlī year 1234 (1824-25 A.D.).

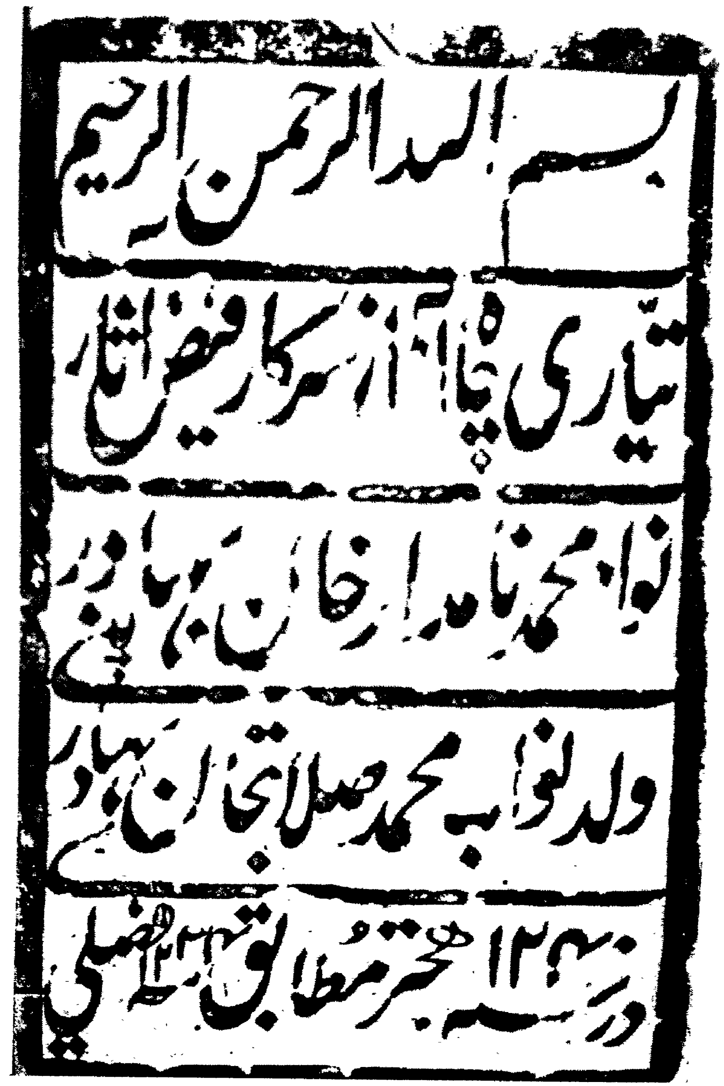
XII. EPITAPH DATED A.H. 1240 (1824 A.D.)

This inscription is from the Tomb of Nāmdār Khān in the garden called Bī-Bahā-Bāgh. It is engraved on a tablet measuring 66 by 98 cm. which is built up in the north wall of the building.[2] It is an epitaph of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān son of Muḥammad Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur giving the exact time, day and month of the year of his death; he died at one *Pās* and four *Gharīs* before sunrise on the night of Thursday, the 12th Rabī' I 1240 (4th November 1824). This detail is not known from any other known source.

[1] *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 141.
[2] *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 77.



SCALE: .12



SCALE: .17

Ṣalābat K͟hān was kind-hearted and a well-wisher of the people. He devoted much of his time in reciting the *Qur'ān* of which he always used to keep a copy with him. At the same time, he participated fully in the affairs of the government. He fought with the forces of Niẓām against Ṭīpū Sulṭān of Mysore and also against the Marāṭhās at Khārdā in March 1795. In the year 1803, he marched with General Wellesley from Aḍgāon to attack Gāwilgarh fort which was then in the hands of the Bhonslās of Nāgpur. He also moved with times and tried to modernise his army by forming a brigade called Ellichpur Brigade under a British officer named Thomas Drew.

The language of the inscription is Persian. The style of writing is fair *Nasta'līq*. The record has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIV (*a*)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(٢) تاریخ رحلت نواب محمد صلابتخان بهادر ولد نواب
(٣) محمد اسمعیل خان بهادر پنی افغان سلیمان زی
(۴) مهدوی متوطن بلده ایلچپور فدوی نظام الملک آصف
(۵) جاه بهادر مدظله العالی بدوازدهم ربیع الاول سنه ۱۲۴۰ هجری
(٦) مطابق سنه ۱۲۳۴ فصلی بوقت یکپاس و چهار گهرے
(٧) باقی شب پنجشنبه از عالم فانی بعالم جاودانی پیوستند

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) The date of the death of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ṣalābat K͟hān Bahādur son of Nawwāb

(3) Muḥammad Ismā'īl K͟hān Bahādur Pannī Afg͟hān Sulaimān Za'ī

(4) Mahdavī, resident of the city of Ellichpūr (and) the trusted servant (*Fidwī*) of Niẓām-u'l-Mulk Āṣaf

(5) Jāh Bahādur (III), may his exalted shadow endure for ever. On the twelfth of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, year A.H. 1240 (12th Rabī' I 1240=4th November 1824)

(6) corresponding to the Faṣlī year 1234, when one *Pās* and four *Ghaṛīs* (three hours and twenty-four minutes)

(7) had remained of the night of Thursday, (having departed) from this transitory world, he joined the eternal world.

XIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 1256 (1840 A.D.)

The last inscription of the present study is to be seen over the main entrance of the Bi-Bahā-Bāg͟h.[1] The epigraphical tablet measuring 40 by 80 cm. contains a text of nine lines in Persian. The text purports that the gate and the compound-wall of the blessed tomb of Muḥammad Sulṭān K͟hān Bahādur Pannī Afg͟hān Sulaimān Za'ī Mahdavī were built by the orders of his great grandson Nawwāb Muḥammad Nāmdār Khān Bahādur in 1256 (1840 A.D.). A conspicuous and somewhat unusual feature of the epigraph is that it contains two Tables

[1] *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 161.

of Figures comprising squares of nine houses which would total twenty when added in any direction horizontally or vertically. The significance of or motive for placing such Tables is not clear to me. Very probably it was intended to serve as a *Naqsh* (Charm) against Evil-Eye or so.

It also gives the full genealogy of the Ellichpūr ehiefs.

The style of writing is beautiful *Nasta'līq,* the effect of which is enhanced by the artistic way in which the double-lined horizontal panels with dotted borders containing the text have been designed.

The text of the epigraph is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

(*a*) *In the first panel, flanking the* Basmala

٦	١١	٣
۴	٧	٩
١٠	٢	٨

٣	١١	٦
٩	٧	۴
٨	٢	١٠

(*b*) *Main Epigraph.*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(٢) تعمیردروازه وفصیل مقبره متبرکه محمد سلطانخان
(٣) بهادر . پنی افغان سلیمان زی مهدوی
(۴) برطبق فرمان قدر جریان نواب محمد نامدا رخان بهادر
(۵) ولد محمد صلابت خان بهادر بن محمد اسمعیل
(٦) خان بهادر شهید بن محمد سلطان خان
(٧) بهادر مرحوم ممدوح بتاریخ هفتم شهر
(٨) شوال المکرم سنه ١٢٥٦ هجری مطابق
(٩) سنه ١٢٥٠ فصلی روز چار شنبه

TRANSLATION

(*a*)

6	11	3
4	7	9
10	2	8

3	11	6
9	7	4
8	2	10

(*b*) (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
(2) The construction of the gate and the enclosure-wall of the blessed tomb of Muḥammad Sulṭān Khān.
(3) Bahādur Pannī Afghān Sulaimān-Za'ī Mahdavī,
(4) (was carried out) by the Destiny-issued orders of Nawwāb Muḥammad Nāmdār Khān Bahādur
(5) son of Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur son of Muḥammad Ismā'īl
(6) Khān Bahādur the martyr, son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Khān
(7) Bahādur, one who has been taken into Allāh's mercy and the praised one, on the seventh of the month
(8) of revered Shawwāl of the year A.H. 1256 corresponding to the
(9) Faṣlī year 1250, the day (being) Wednesday (7 Shawwāl 1256=2nd December 1840).

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